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SPANISH PIONEER HOUSES OF CALIFORNIA

OF the domestic architecture of the Spanish pioneer period in California historians as yet have given but scattered glimpses through a large and almost unexplored territory. It is not difficult to find good reason for this strange neglect of the early picturesque homesteads. The social and religious aspects of mission organizations were profoundly impressive, not only in their prime, but also in their decay and ruin. Even their material aspect drew the attention of every visitor to the obscure province, and many received the bountiful hospitality of the mission fathers. Compared with these grave and imposing structures the modest Spanish homes, whether in the villages, or on the league-wide ranchos of the broad Californian valleys, made little or no impression upon the traveler. Such writers as described from personal observation the life and manners of California in the first forty years of the century have much to say about the gracious courtesy of the proud and wealthy Spanish families, but most of their architectural descriptions are of missions, and of a few residences in the larger towns of San Diego, Los Angeles, Monterey and Yerba Buena.

"Adobes" in California may mean anything from a hovel to a palace. The Indians, driven from their lands, living poor and despised in the rocky cañons, have forgotten the art the Franciscan fathers taught them—they build only huts of tulé, or willow brush, woven together, and thatched with coarse marsh-grass. The Mexicans, or "native Californians," make adobe shanties still, or live in the more massive adobe structures reared by the proud Spanish leaders, whose vast estates covered whole modern counties. But as the old race has dwindled, and ownership of the land has gone into American hands, the adobes are everywhere crumbling into utter ruin. Hundreds of them are already so far destroyed that one can with difficulty ascertain the sites. The roofs are gone, the walls leveled, and the plow has done the rest.

Worst of all, there is not, there never has been, any map on which the early Spanish houses, now in ruins, or entirely gone, can be located. No one, so far as I am aware, has ever taken up this interesting subject. No

Pacific coast antiquarian has yet mapped out the adobe ruins of even a single township, county or district; whilst years of painstaking work would be needed to number and classify the ruins in the state. All over the portions of California which were settled before the American conquest, and in some places since settled, there are adobe houses. Nearly all belong to the old Spanish era, but some were built by Americans who had settled in the country, and a few were built as late as 1852. In the interior they are found from the Tejon Pass, at the head of the San Joaquin, to Shasta county, Major P. B. Reading's large adobe, on the Upper Sacramento, near Middle creek, marking the extreme northern limit of the adobe house. On the coast old adobe ruins abound from Marin, Sonoma, Napa and Solano, on the north, to the borders of Mexico on the south.

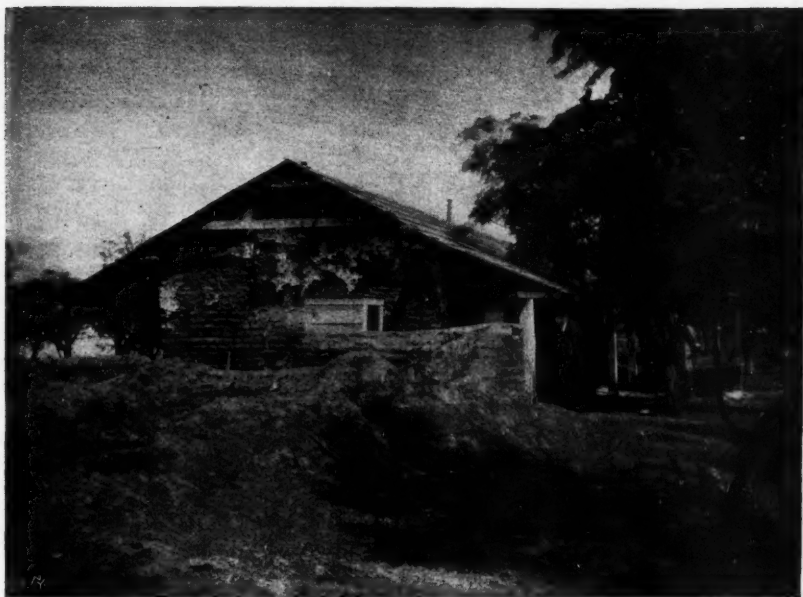
In the coast range, north of San Francisco bay, the Spanish homes were few and far between. The Marin county adobe was nearest to the coast; inland were Vallejos in Santa Rosa, Vacas in Solano, the Berryessas far up in Napa, and quite a settlement at Sonoma, where the late General Vallejo settled. There were several prominent Spanish families near the Carquinez straits, on the southern shore. Here the large adobe of one of the Berryessa brothers still stands, also the ruins of the Martinez adobe, and that of the Castros. Five miles from Martinez, the town of Pacheco marks the old home of the Spanish family of that name, who once owned leagues of land from the straits to Monte Diablo.

Many of the most interesting remains of old adobes are in the foot-hills, and it is very difficult to find any one who knows anything about their history. The owner of the land, when asked, usually says: "Don't know: some Greaser."

"But," one asks, "was it a Mexican or a Spanish family living here, when you bought the land, and what was their name?"

"Don't know."

I was once driving over the low foot-hills at the verge of the Sierras, in Merced county, near Bear creek. In a field, a hundred yards from the road, there was a picturesque old adobe ruin. Only the end wall and gable were standing, the rest had fallen into the very unusual adjunct of an adobe—an ample cellar. The large, round rafters, unhewn, squared at the ends to fit into sockets left in the wall, had been pulled out, and the roof had disappeared. No one in the region knew who built the adobe or could give any clue to the probable date. The locality is so far out of the usual Spanish districts that I should attribute it to some American stock-rancher, with perhaps a Spanish wife and Mexican servants. This might bring its date down to the early fifties, which the marks of a saw in



THE MAJOR READING ADOBE, SHASTA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA.

the window casings would confirm. In the coast range one often finds adobes which belong to the early part of the century. They are always in wonderfully beautiful situations, too; on headlands of hill, pushing out into a valley, or sheltered in some warm nook, by ever-living waters. Trees, planted by the Spanish founders, still remain in many cases—olives, figs, and the scarlet-berried pepper-tree.

It is always desirable to illustrate a subject of this sort by taking a familiar portion of it for closer study. The San Gabriel valley, the hills of San Luis Obispo, the Santa Margarita, and the great expanse of the Salinas, all offer unexplored fields for any antiquarian who wishes to locate and study adobe ruins. But there is a smaller, yet perhaps not less important, territory where I have spent much time over the details of the subject, and from this field I will draw some further illustrations.*

Alameda county lies east of San Francisco bay, and occupies a portion of the Santa Clara valley, with the foot-hills and small valleys of some twenty miles of the Contra Costa range. It covers about 800 square miles of country, and most of it was owned by Spanish families at the time of the conquest. The old Mission San José, established in 1799, is at

the base of Mission peak, in Washington township, the most southern township in the county, and the one first settled. Spanish life in this region began, then, with the century. The Peraltas, Alvisos, Vallejos, Sunols, Pachecos, Romero, Higuerras, and Estudillos, with their relations, friends and retainers, had peaceable possession, and held vast estates under grants from various governors of California, or from Mexico direct. They were absolute masters for nearly half a century, and their homesteads were the only buildings, except the mission, in the territory, but it has now become difficult to trace the history of any except a few of the largest and most permanent of these structures.

Taking for local purposes the oldest subdivision of the county, Washington township, which covers about one hundred square miles, I have found many adobes still standing within its boundaries, and the traces of many others. The pretentious "County History," of six hundred pages, mentions only two adobes in this township. There are twenty-nine which I have located, and a few more are probably to be found in the foot-hills.

The old adobes of Washington township are not of equal interest or importance, but they well illustrate all the leading types. At the mission the largest adobe in the county still stands, though much shattered by the earthquake of 1868, which destroyed the old church. It was the dwelling of the priests, but is now used as a wine-cellar. It was roofed with large red tiles, carved and heavy, imported from Mexico. These still remain on one slope of the roof; on the other, the rafters have given way, and the tiles were replaced by modern shingles. Grape-vines climb over the wide, strong framework of the porches, which was hewn in forests some twenty miles distant. Another large adobe, across the street of the village, was the residence of Don J. J. Vallejo, "major domo" of the mission, and the head of the Alameda branch of the famous Vallejo family. This was the "mansion house" of the whole region. A third, small adobe, in partial ruins, stands in the upper end of the old mission garden, and was probably the watch-house of the soldiers on guard against descents of wild Indians from the hills. There is a fine old avenue of olive and pear trees; there were fig avenues, but they were cut down years ago. Deep sockets cut in a great rock by a stream show where the Spanish pioneers had a hand-mill to grind their wheat, and an olive mill to crush their oil. An acre of old vines, planted ninety years ago, still bears excellent grapes. Here and there through the village are bits of wall, or at least the ground course of adobes, fast disappearing; seven or eight such ruins of buildings can be found by careful observation.

South of the mission, toward the Warm Springs, the Higuerras held

sway, and there are two adobes in moderate repair, and one or two remains of buildings. The hot sulphur springs here were much visited by the Indian tribes "from time immemorial," and the Spanish settlers resorted to the place from the whole valley.

Niles, on Alameda creek, is the place where Commander Fages, the Spanish explorer of 1772, camped one April day, and saw deer and grizzlies feeding in the broad valley. Don Vallejo built an adobe mill here, bringing the water by a ditch along the hill-side. The millstones and rude machinery were imported



THE DON VALLEJO ADOBE, THE "MANSION HOUSE" OF THE REGION.

ADOBE ON TEJON RANCH, UPPER
SAN JOAQUIN RIVER.

from Spain and Mexico. An adobe house which he commenced building was never finished, for the rapid growth of American interests in the valley soon swept away the old Spanish land-owners. Farther out in the "flat" near the creek, was a small adobe, now used by a nursery company as a tree-packing house. Against the hill, near Niles, are two long low parallel ridges which mark the Vallejo "brick-yards," where hundreds of thousands of adobes were mixed, moulded, and put to dry in the sun for use in his various buildings near Niles.

The finest old adobe in the Niles region is situated in a small, sheltered valley near the main Niles cañon. It was built and occupied by a half-brother of Don Vallejo's, and early in the fifties passed into possession of a cattle-raiser named Rankin, who made some cheap wooden additions, and lived for many years in the house. It has now been deserted for some fifteen years. Like all the California adobes the walls are dark except where plastered, and very different in effect from the adobes of the Rio Grande valley.

The Alviso homestead was far out in the open plain, near the bay shore, by a willow copse. It was a fine old mansion, with a smaller house near, but only low walls are left to mark the place. There was a time when the young men of that dashing family, the wildest riders in the valley, could "travel all day on their own lands," but for years they have not owned an acre.

The Pacheco house stood on Alameda creek, about three miles from Alviso's, and Romero lived near with his "fandango house," but neither of them held grants. The Sunols in Sunol valley had two large adobes, and farther east, in another township, Robert Livermore, who had married a Spanish wife, ruled a vast estate of vale and hill.

Such were the more important Spanish-built adobes. After the Americans came, Alcalde Smith repaired a fallen adobe between the mission and Niles and lived there. Tom Naile, who had "married a Spaniard," hired Indians and built a large and fine adobe in the valley, sold it with his "land claim" to a plain American farmer, and moved back into the hills.

The archæological map of Washington township ought to show all these, with a few more scattered through the foot-hills, where the poor fragments of the old Spanish families found refuge when driven from the richer valleys. But such a map might do more than this: there were other works of that period which have left a trace on the land.

First of these were the famous "ditch fences" of the Spanish settlers. They had extensive wheat-fields to supply the mission, and the Russians from Fort Ross, whose otter-hunting schooners often cast anchor in one of the salt-water creeks near the bay and loaded up with hides, tallow, and wheat. In order to keep the cattle out of the fields, the Spaniards made their Indians dig deep ditches with almost perpendicular sides, and perhaps six feet wide. As soon as they were neglected the winter rains began to destroy them, and the plow of the American farmer completed the work, so that it is now difficult to trace them for a rod at a time. The four most important ditches in the township enclosed an area of about 1,200 acres in a rhomboidal form. About the mission, hedges of nopal and walls of adobe protected the gardens.

The largest water-ditch in the township was one which was dug by Don Vallejo, after the American occupation. It started from the Alameda creek, and was intended to carry water over large tracts ten miles north. The cost of construction was very great, all on borrowed capital. When the ditch was finished, it was discovered that it "ran up-hill," and so could



ADOBÉ RUIN NEAR MOUNT TAMALPAIS.

INDIAN HUTS, COMMON IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

never deliver a drop of water.

There were several small "zanjas" in the valley used for irrigating gardens, but they have left little trace. The

"Vallejo ditch" still winds its futile course around the hills, above the valley, for several miles. The first cemetery that the old Spanish families established was adjoining the mission church. Here the Vallejos, Pachecos, Alvisos, and other aristocratic families of the Spanish period, buried their dead in consecrated ground. The huge cross, which stood so high that its shadow at noonday fell far across the little plot, was made of two redwood trunks, dragged by men and mustangs from the San Antonio

forests. The converted Indians had a cemetery of their own, half a mile distant, on a low hill, crowned by a similarly imposing cross. There, to this day, one can dig up hundreds of round "wampum-beads" which the Indians were permitted to wear as ornaments, and to have buried with them.

Perhaps these notes from studies made in this single township may interest others to map out and list the adobe ruins elsewhere. The American pioneer, with his many good qualities, possesses an invincible contempt for the conquered and all his belongings. It seems to him profane to call these stately old gentlemen who dwelt here so long, "the Spanish pioneers," or to search out their crumbling, deserted homes in the lovely Californian valleys. But it is, nevertheless, a work that is waiting to be done, and it can only be accomplished by one who is in sympathy with the best elements of the Spanish character. It is from the few survivors of the old families of Spanish California that one must gather, bit by bit, the lost fragments of the story.

There is certainly room for the historian of the homes of the period. The details of old Californian life have never been set forth with the happy combination of literary skill and accuracy which is all that is needed to restore a lost pastoral in prose. The feasts and fasts, the courtings and marriages, and all the incidents of that forgotten past, linger most about the ruined adobes and by neglected vineyards and long waste gardens, the very names of whose Spanish masters have perished from the earth.

To me, at least, the scattered Spanish pioneer homes, away from the ancient towns, possess the larger interest. The "Mexican quarter" of Los Angeles, for instance, is too much of a contrast with the great, thriving city that is swallowing it up. The very houses are patched with all that is raw and modern; they are stables and store-houses and cattle sheds; the Spanish life has become a myth in the ancient pueblo. But when one finds a ruined adobe farmhouse in a cañon, there the past lingers, and will remain as long as one gray block withstands the rain-beat. The more one studies these scattered adobe ruins, the more he will know about the Spanish pioneers of California and their early, interesting history. They built more houses in this state than is generally supposed. Here in Alameda county there are, perhaps, fifty old adobes, and Alameda was never as thickly settled in the Spanish days as were Santa Clara, Monterey, and the more southern counties.

Charles Howard Shinn.

NILES, CALIFORNIA.

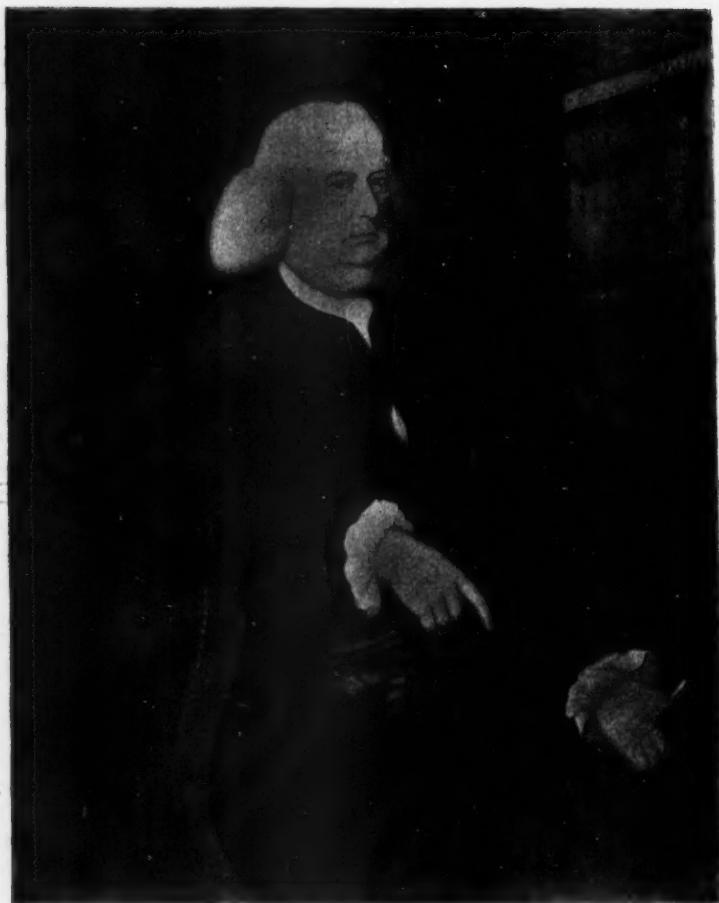
PORTRAIT OF PHILIP LIVINGSTON, THE SIGNER

1716-1778

The portrait of the well-known distinguished member of the Livingston family of New York, which we present to our readers on the following page, is from a valuable painting in possession of Gen. S. Van Rensselaer Cruger, and is said to be the only correct likeness of the sagacious patriot after he had passed middle life. Philip Livingston is no stranger to our readers, not less than three sketches bearing upon his character and career having appeared, from time to time, in our pages.* In December, 1885, a sketch of his Brooklyn home was furnished us by the late Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, from memory; and a picture of his tomb in York, Pennsylvania, where he died while in attendance as a member of the continental congress, appeared in the same issue. He was a man of exceptional public spirit, irrespective of his politics and devotion to the cause of American independence. He was a prominent factor in the establishment of the New York Society Library and in the birth of King's (now Columbia) college, was among the founders of the chamber of commerce, and one of the first governors of the New York hospital, chartered in 1771.

He was sixty years of age when he signed the Declaration of Independence. He had entered upon his public services as alderman in 1754, holding that position for eight consecutive years. He was from 1759 to 1769, ten years, a member of the legislature of New York, and one of the prominent New York delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, which held its sessions in the old city hall in Wall street. The petition to the house of lords, which emanated from that body, was written by Philip Livingston, and it conveyed an element of decision to the government across the water that was as unexpected as it was startling. As speaker of the New York assembly, he signed another remarkable document, which boldly declared: "This colony (New York) lawfully and constitutionally has and enjoys an internal legislature of its own, in which the crown and the people of this colony are constitutionally represented, and the power and authority of the said legislature cannot lawfully or constitutionally be suspended, abridged, abrogated, or annulled by any power, authority, or prerogative whatsoever; the prerogative of the crown ordinarily exercised for prorogations and dissolutions only excepted." This was in 1768,

* See vol. i. 301-305, ix. 330-331, xiv. 546-555.



PHILIP LIVINGSTON, THE SIGNER.

and the royal governor of the province was so affronted that he dissolved the assembly on the 2d of January, 1769, and in the election which followed, Philip Livingston lost his seat.

He was a college-bred man of broad intelligence, and whether brilliant or otherwise possessed great force of will, benevolence, astute judgment, and marked ability in the conduct of affairs. His features looking down upon us are expressive of the sterling qualities for which he is justly famed.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECT OF KENTUCKY'S STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY

1784-1792

The political history of a people is the story of its emotions; its laws are the records of its sober second thoughts. Consequently constitutional history affords less that is striking and picturesque, but more that is stable and true, than any other department of history. It is judicial in its attitudes. It considers only those thoughts which ripen into deeds; only those deeds which are big with import for the future. An interesting commentary upon the character of a people is afforded by the degree of resemblance to be observed between its constitutional and political histories. A phlegmatic and impulsive people both draw these departments together; the one doing all things gravely and within the limits of its laws, the other writing every hot thought upon the statute-book. Certain periods of the history of Holland and France well illustrate these conditions. On the other hand a people at once progressive and conservative, such as the English people has ever been, generally offers an instructive contrast between these departments of its history. Indeed, the wise way in which the English people winnowed the wheat from the chaff after every threshing, is the lesson the world has found best worth learning. It is interesting to observe how the old story retells itself in history; how a historic heredity rules the destiny of a race. In the little drama of Kentucky's struggle for autonomy we have a pretty miniature, which shows the conflict between passion and patience, politics and law, in a very suggestive contrast.

Kentucky was thrust into the great trans-Appalachian region like an entering wedge of civilization. It contained few settled inhabitants at the coming of the white man. It was claimed in whole or in part by several tribes, but in truth it was a common hunting and battle ground. Its rich blue grass valleys and frequent salt licks attracted quantities of game. These the tribes east, west, north, and south assiduously pursued. A great war trace lay right across its territory, uniting with a bloody cincture the dominant tribes of north and south, the representatives of different and bitterly hostile races. The hunting parties of one tribe so often met the war parties of others that he who hunted the deer and the buffalo

amid the waving cane-brakes took his life in his hand. The result was that the Indians who roamed the country between the Ohio and the Tennessee were always equipped alike for war and the chase. Hence the force of the remark of the old Indian to Boone at the close of one of the treaty-making meetings: "Brother, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will find trouble in settling it."

It was too true. Yet every effort was made to secure the acquiescence of the Indians in the settlement of this territory. "By fair and repeated treaties—first in 1768 with the six nations, by which the Indian title to Kentucky was extinguished as far south as the Tennessee river; second, by the treaty with the Shawnees with Lord Dunmore, 1774; third, by the treaty with the Cherokees in 1775, in consideration of 10,000 pounds sterling their title was extinguished to that portion of Kentucky between the river of that name and the Cumberland mountains and Cumberland river; also by the treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785, confirmed and enlarged by the treaty of Greenville in 1795; and, lastly, by the treaty with the Chickasaws in 1818—all that part of Kentucky west of the Tennessee and south of the Ohio was acquired."

The Indians sold, under inducement of fraud and duress in most cases it is too true, land which they did not possess and to which they could not give possession. Their cessions were, however, in the nature of quit-claims. Whatever was the legal aspect of the case, the Indians knew nothing of legal distinctions and had never heard of a policy of *laissez faire*. They therefore took all that was given them, and when the opportunity offered took as much more as they could get, whether in the form of property or of scalps.

When once immigration commenced it flowed over the mountains into the western valleys. The Ohio river and the wilderness road through Cumberland Gap were the main approaches. They left in their rear a wide tract of unsettled mountainous country. The sea-board had been settled under very different conditions. Its settlers had held on to their base of supplies, and only very slowly and as necessity demanded pushed back their western line. The old settlements never understood, perhaps even to this day the east has not learned fully to comprehend the new settlements of the west. They lost touch with each other. Time brought indifference to the one, doubt and in some cases suspicion to the other. A natural result was that, thrown ever more and more on their own resources, the western people acted on their own ideas, first in self-defense, and then, becoming more self-sufficient, out of natural preference and self-confidence.

Under these circumstances the character of the settlers naturally determined the history of the country. The population of Kentucky may be divided into three classes during the period under consideration: first, the true frontiersmen, the men who actually opened up and established the early settlements; second, the post-revolutionary emigrants, embracing all classes and conditions of men set free by the termination of the war and urged on by the scarcity and hardship of the times to seek new homes, but in a large measure made up of young men, chiefly from Virginia and of good family; third, adventurers. This last class was not homogeneous, but embraced many outlaws and Tories in the first period, down to the close of the war; many soldiers who had imbibed a taste for a life of excitement, immediately after the war; and from that time forward, men of broken and desperate fortunes. The first class was largely composed of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, and formed the backbone of the people. These people were the ordinary product of a sturdy Calvinism. They were a God-fearing, law-abiding, liberty-loving race. They had no patience with shams, and scoffed at Henderson's imitation proprietary government of Transylvania; they were deadly in earnest, and bitterly complained of Virginia's neglect under the shadow of perfunctory government; they were clear-sighted, and calmly resisted with the force of *vis inertia* the demagoguery of Wilkinson and his coadjutors; at the same time they were full of enterprise, and calmly disregarding foolish laws supplemented the feeble arm of the state whenever needful. Above all they had the courage of their convictions, and by a monumental patience left their constitution and statute-book free from the least stain in the face of every kind of pressure toward treasonous devices. And yet their efforts to secure self-government have often been spoken of as "separatist movements," and treated as if inherently disloyal.

These so-called movements began in 1776; from that time till Kentucky became one of the United States, on the first day of June, 1792, was fifteen years. During that period no less than eleven regular conventions were held for the specific purpose of considering the governmental affairs of the country. In conjunction with these a number of informal conventions was held, mainly in the interest of separation. It is interesting to observe how a people, unused to restraint, met and determined the questions presented to them on such occasions. Under similar circumstances Tennessee, a region settled by a kindred people under nearly identical considerations, twice plunged into open rebellion. What is the record of Kentucky?

Virginia claimed jurisdiction over Kentucky on the basis of the original grant, and this was practically never questioned. The country was governed as a part of the frontier county, whatever that happened to be. In 1776 this was Fincastle. The connection between the county seat and the outlying district was by hundreds of miles of mountain road, through a country inhabited by no settled people and infested with roving bands of savages and wild beasts. The capital of the state was yet other hundreds of miles away, beyond another chain of lofty and difficult mountains. Such a government could only be a pretense. This the settlers felt, and, the spirit of liberty being rife, they determined to apply for recognition to the Virginia convention which was to meet in Williamsburg on the 6th of May. George Rogers Clark, who had spent the winter in the east, advised against this plan. He recommended that instead two delegates should be sent to the regularly constituted government to demand substantial recognition for Kentucky, coupled with a strong suggestion of a resort to a violent separation in case their application was refused. The first part of Clark's plan was adopted. The people met at Harrodstown (now Harrodsburg) early in June and held an election, extending over five days, for delegates. Clark and Gabriel John Jones were elected. Wisely thinking a prayer should not be accompanied with a threat, they rejected the second part of Clark's suggestion and sent a decorous yet decided petition, under date of June 20, praying that they, the people of "West Fincastle," be erected into a separate county. Their case met with due consideration and the prayer was granted, and the western country was cut off from Fincastle and erected into Kentucky county. Thus the first step in the direction of independence, local self-government, was attained. The continental congress had not declared the colonies independent when the demand of inhabitants of West Fincastle was penned, nor had these good people forgotten the fact that there was a war on hand. George III. probably meant little to them now, but they did not think it imprudent to remind the would-be commonwealth of Virginia, which, as far as they knew, was still debating its rights,* "how impolitical it would be to suffer such a respectable body of prime riflemen to remain in a state of neutrality."

The concession was only a sop to Cerberus. The discontents of the Kentucky people were not due to factional but to natural and persistent causes. Three grievances were especially great and were destined to be permanent causes of complaint. They arose from the difficulties in com-

* The Virginia bill of rights was agreed to on the 12th of June.

munication and were: first, the legal relation between the two parts of the state was very inconvenient, because laws were enacted without considering how they would affect Kentucky, thus having the effect of *ex post facto* laws in some cases, and appeals were rendered almost impossible because the expenses of prosecuting them at the capital were ruinous, and the same reason made it easy for the rich to oppress the poor; second, the people of the east could not understand and did not sympathize with the conditions of life in Kentucky, especially with respect to Indian affairs; third, a common commercial policy between the sections was impossible, and Kentucky was forced to bend to the welfare of the seaboard.*

A sudden thunder-clap came in May, 1780. Six hundred and forty of the inhabitants of "Illinois, Kaskaskias, and Kentucky," or as they in another place call themselves, "people of that part of contry now claimed by the state of Virginia in the counties of Kaintucky and Illinois," sent a petition praying that "the Continental Congress will take proper methods to form us into a separate state or grant us such rules and regulations as they in their wisdoms shall think most proper." These good people, to the number of six hundred and forty, were plainly much distressed, or as they phrased it, "appressed," since they turned from Virginia to that shadow, the congress of the confederation. At any rate, they got nothing for their pains, and the country rested for a time under suppressed but chronic discontent.†

Virginia was not a careless nor a hard mother. She was willing to do her best, and from beginning to end her treatment of her western dependencies was liberal to a degree. A division of Kentucky county into the three counties of Lincoln, Fayette, and Jefferson, and the erection of the whole into a district (which retained the name of Kentucky), made local government more efficient. But the essential difficulties lay too deep for such simple remedies. The termination of the war brought this out in high relief.

Kentucky had been on a war footing. The militia officers had military powers and constantly made use of them against the British and their savage allies. Now they had no such powers. Yet for them the war was not at an end. The Indians still kept up a desultory warfare, and the unsur-

* Quite a full statement of these grievances may be found in the address to the inhabitants of the district of Kentucky, published by the convention of May, 1785, and printed in *Marshall's History of Kentucky*.

† This interesting document may be read in full in Appendix D, Vol. II., of Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*.

rendered posts in the northwest were so many plague spots. The following statement of the situation from the pen of a participant in the events of these years is at once accurate and graphic.*

"During the war the Indians were the enemies of North America at large; when peace was concluded, the situation of the western people, instead of being ameliorated, was rendered worse. The Indians, it is true, as the allies of Britain, had no pretensions to continue hostilities after their principal had acknowledged herself satisfied and had made peace. But they never had an adequate conception of the nature and consequences of the contest. They had never been conquered by the Americans, and could not understand how they could have been subdued in consequence of the Americans having obtained an advantage over the British in the eastern part of the continent, when they were daily making conquests in the west. They could not comprehend how they were subdued abroad by proxy, at the same time they were conquerors at home in fact. But not only was their military pride wounded by this doctrine, their interest was vitally affected. They had never considered England as the proprietor of their country. Yet under the treaty America claimed it as ceded to them by the British, and required from the Indians an acknowledgment of their right; which acknowledgment was once extorted from them, as may be seen in the treaty with the Shawanese, made at Miami in 1786, section 2, though with the extremest reluctance on their part, and even with tears. This claim produced in the minds of the Indians a spirit of indignant resentment and desperate hostility toward the Americans, which no exertions of Great Britain could probably have ever effected. Hence the termination of the general conflict was a new era in the war between the Indians and the exposed frontiers of America.

But the government, inattentive to these matters, and thoughtlessly and obstinately disregarding the consequences which must necessarily result, not only withstood all efficient military force from the district, but left it destitute of any legal authority to put its own inherent strength into action. The fact is, in short, that the governments in Virginia and of the United States seemed resolved to consider the Indians as friends; to permit no offensive measures to be taken against them, and to make no provision for defensive ones. Hence by the treaty of peace, the Indians, instead of being the enemies of America at large, as they had hitherto been, became the enemies of the western country alone."

* This passage is taken from the valuable little treatise of William Littell, *Political Transactions in and concerning Kentucky, from the first settlement thereof, until it became an independent state, in June, 1792*. Frankfort, 1806.

In coupling Virginia in this attitude toward the Indians with congress, the partisan spoke rather than the historian. While there was some ground for this view, it was not the ordinary attitude of the state, especially at this time. The difficulty was mainly that Virginia could not be made to understand the situation and did not provide proper remedies for the distress of her western counties. Things drifted on till the autumn of 1784, when it was rumored that the Cherokees in the south were meditating an inroad into Kentucky. The situation is quaintly described by Marshall, who says: "Physically, Kentucky might be compared to Samson going down to the Philistines; politically, to the same man after his amour with Delilah," and adds, "No man, or collection of men, in the district, was competent to call the militia into service for offensive measures." The district contained no public magazine of arms, powder, or lead, equal to the necessary supply. There were no provisions in store, nor funds to purchase them. The citizens individually had arms, ammunition, and provisions. But there was no law to conscript the owners—none to place their effect into requisition.

In view of these circumstances Colonel Benjamin Logan summoned a number of citizens to meet in Danville to discuss the situation. They decided to call a convention to meet in Danville on December 27, 1784, to be composed of one member from each militia company in the district. This informal meeting fairly inaugurated the struggle. From that time on the threat was never broken. The history of the remaining years is one of persistent effort looking toward separation from Virginia. The first regular convention met in Danville, December 27, 1784. A decided majority of its members was in favor of applying to Virginia for a formal separation. "But as the idea had not been suggested before they were elected, and they could not say they were elected for the purpose, they declined making the application." Thus where we might have expected precipitation we find excessive caution. The only work of the convention was to call a second convention to meet on May 23. The second convention passed five resolutions. The first and second resolved *nomine contradicente*, "That a petition be presented to the assembly praying that (this) district may be established into a state, separate from Virginia," and "that this district when established into a state ought to be taken into union with the United States of America." The third and fifth resolutions called a new convention and referred the whole question to it, while the fourth made the notable declaration as to representation, "that the election of deputies for the proposed convention ought to be on the principle of equal representation," which put Kentucky alongside of Vermont as a

pioneer of equal representation and manhood suffrage. The Virginia law provided for representation by counties without regard to extent or population, a system always distasteful to her western district. The convention then proceeded to petition the general assembly of Virginia for a separation, in terms of the most admirable lucidity and calmness, referring to the "provisional clause in the constitution" and even seemed to suggest such a division. This clause in the Virginia constitution of 1776 provided that: "The western and northern extent of Virginia shall stand as fixed by the charter of King James I., etc., unless by act of this legislature one or more governments be established westward of the Alleghany mountains." This petition was justified and enforced in an address to the "inhabitants of the district of Kentucky," naturally more specious and persuasive, but still maintaining a judicious attitude. The address enumerates seven grounds of grievance, which are practically comprehended in the three already enumerated as the permanent grievances of the people. These papers were very able and would have done credit to any deliberative body of the day. In the contrast between these documents and the rough, misspelled petitions of 1776 we read a great change in the character of the population.

The third convention was summoned to meet August 8, 1785, the delegates being voted for on five successive days, beginning with the county court day in July in each county. From the election of this convention the inauguration of a party in favor of immediate, even if violent, separation dates. At its head was General James Wilkinson, and he was the embodiment of the episode in the contest which had to do with the Mississippi trade. Wilkinson was essentially a demagogue. That he lugged the Mississippi question into the discussion for personal interest and political capital, cannot be doubted. We owe the finally successful policy of our government on this question primarily to Jay, influenced and supported by Henry, Lee, Jefferson, and other eastern statesmen. The western cabal deserves little credit for the result.

I do not promise to trace through its tortuous length the proceedings of the next seven years. The Virginia assembly met the request of her western district cordially and promptly, but through a series of untoward accidents—principally Clark's unfortunate expedition against the Indians on the Wabash—the east and west played at cross purposes. Convention after convention met, to the total number of ten, and four enabling acts were passed by the Virginia assembly before anything definite was secured. The experience was sufficient to try the patience of the most law-abiding people. What could be expected of a body of backwoods settlers? And

yet they loyally observed the law to the letter, conformed to every requirement with precision, and when baffled by circumstances quickly renewed the contest. And all this in the face of a cabal led by a man of singularly fascinating manners, bold in his address, popular in his oratory, and supported by a very respectable and influential following. The revolutionary precedent was immediately before their eyes; the sense of grievance was great and loudly expressed; and yet not a single one of these many conventions, by a single important or significant act, gave countenance to any measure which departed in the least from the strictest constitutional limits. In the final shock Judge George Muter's most explicit and admirable paper, setting forth the constitutional consequences of unlicensed separation under the Virginian constitution and the articles of confederation, was conclusive. His argument left no room for doubt as to the results of the cabal's schemes, and only a small minority was ready to face them. In the mean time, in June, 1788, the Virginia convention to act on the Constitution of the United States had been held, and the delegates from Kentucky, two from each of her seven counties, had cast an overwhelming vote against the constitution. The delegates from Jefferson county, Bullock and Robert Breckinridge, and Humphrey Marshall of Fayette, alone voted for ratification. This result was perhaps due to the excited state of their section, but probably quite as much to the personal influence of Patrick Henry, which was very great beyond the mountains. It is not to be doubted, however, that the hostility to the northeast, so sedulously cultivated in connection with the Mississippi trade, had borne some evil fruits. The refusal of the congress of the confederation on July 3 following to take any action on the petition for the admission of Kentucky as a state, properly referring the whole question to the new government about to be established, produced a small tempest. Once more the measures of the men who were in favor of rash and violent action proved abortive, and the inauguration of the new government produced a strong moral effect, which was greatly increased by the act of congress providing for the admission of Kentucky to the Union on June 1, 1792, the day named by Virginia in her final enabling act.

The question was mainly fought out in Fayette county. Actually there was far less of a struggle than there appeared to be. The weight of the old-fashioned sturdy Scotch-Irish type told too heavily in the country districts, and they voted a solid phalanx in favor of law and order. In the flourishing town of Lexington the adventurers had their principal stronghold and their leader. Wilkinson made this the pivotal point, and here the sharp conflict which he stirred up gave the locality a somewhat undue

importance, an importance which has been increased by Humphrey Marshall's efforts to make the Marshall share—really a large one—in thwarting the disunion schemes as large as possible. It is impossible now to regard the movement as a serious menace to the faithfulness of the state, for it was wanting in a homogeneous and reliable rank and file. At the same time, its leaders were at once able, ambitious, and rash, and it is greatly to the credit of the people that they were not swept away from their moorings.

The final convention, which met at Danville, April 3, 1792, draughted the first constitution of the state. The *personnelle* of this convention was very different from that of the earlier ones. Marshall speaks with contempt of it. It seems that the reaction toward the entire approval of the Constitution of the United States was strong; that the new emigration was bringing vigorous young men, whose minds were free from the prejudices of the past and wholly occupied with plans for a peaceful and progressive future, and that in the election they left out the leaders on both sides of the old contest and sent new men whose actions could not be construed in the light of an outward partisanship. In the forefront was a newcomer, George Nicholas. Nicholas had an extreme view of the obligations of a representative to his constituents, and resigned his seat and offered himself for re-election on the ground that he had changed his mind on a point which he had discussed before election. In other respects he was in the utmost sympathy with the constitution, the adoption of which he had ably advocated, and the convention turned to him for guidance. It was doubtless due to this that the constitution somewhat blindly followed the national document in important provisions and in consequence fell into some serious difficulties.

The most important of all the provisions of the constitution in its ultimate influence was the final, formal adoption of "equal representation" and the full recognition of the principle of manhood suffrage. Its qualification shows how temperate were these men. The first article of the bill of rights declares "that all men, when they form a social compact, are equal." Their incapacity to rise to the noble phraseology which Mason had employed in the Virginia bill of rights, and which Jefferson had bettered in borrowing for the declaration of independence, and which in its last form declared "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights, that among these are the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—was perhaps natural, but it was none the less deplorable. Their refusal to use a form of statement to which they could not give their consent was, at least, a proof of their honesty. It was

only "free men," as the constitutional convention of 1799 more specifically declared, whom they regarded as equal. Yet they were not wholly blind to the evils of slavery, and showed an active desire to put a stop to the slave-trade. The article (IX.) which treats of slaves and slavery is, indeed, so progressive that it deserves to be quoted in full.

"Article IX. The legislature shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners previous to such emancipation, and a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this state from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of the state. They shall pass laws to permit the owners of the slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and preventing them from becoming chargeable to the county in which they reside. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into the state as merchandise. They shall have full powers to prevent any slaves being brought into this state from a foreign country and to prevent those being brought into this state who have been since the first day of January, 1789, or hereafter may be imported into any one of the United States from a foreign country. And they shall have full powers to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions, to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners."

Perhaps the most important point in which the Constitution of the United States was imitated was in the provision for the election of the senate and governor. For this purpose an electoral college was created. It was a clumsy device, foredoomed to failure. Singularly enough the clause treating of the matter failed to state whether a majority or a plurality should elect, though elaborate provision was made for the case of a tie. The first contested election in our history was caused by this neglect. In the second election for governor the college met with fifty-three present. The first ballot showed twenty-one votes for Benjamin Logan, seventeen for James Garrard, fourteen for Thomas Todd, and one for John Brown. The electors, assuming that there was no election and that a majority vote was necessary to a choice, summarily dropped Todd and Brown and proceeded to another ballot. Garrard, receiving a majority on the second ballot, was declared elected. The best legal opinion in the state held that

the second ballot was not justified, and that Logan was elected. The law made the senate the arbiter in cases of contested gubernatorial elections, and Logan took his case thither; but with admirable constitutional acumen the senate declared that any law which did not promote the peace and the harmony of the commonwealth was contrary to the well being of the state, and that all such laws were unconstitutional; that the law referring contested elections to the senate had already provoked discord and was therefore unconstitutional.

The personal equation of Nicholas again appears in the provision introduced into Article V., providing that the court of appeals ("the supreme court") should have original and final jurisdiction in suits respecting land titles. This was almost necessitated by the compact with Virginia which guaranteed all Virginia titles, and by the temper of the times which held out little hope of impartial administration of justice in land suits. The provision failed, for the very reason that seemed to justify it. Montesquieu had long before noted that virtue is the sole foundation of a stable republic. The Kentucky convention had not learned, any more than we have yet learned, that a people cannot be made virtuous by a constitutional provision.

The constitution as completed followed that of Virginia in the main, with the grafts which Nicholas had cut from the national instrument and the principle of universal suffrage inserted. It was a strange document—democratic, with a half-developed tendency toward ultra-republicanism—it was at least conservative and served very well for a few years.

The union sentiment prevailed with some strength at first. Robert Breckinridge was made speaker of the house of representatives, a post he retained for four successive terms, when he retired to private life. John Edwards became one of the first senators. But John Brown was chosen for the other—due perhaps to a spirit of compromise—an honor which his long experience of national affairs as delegate in congress and his ability at least justified. In the main the old party of disunion was swamped. The leaders came to the front by virtue of real force. Sebastian became judge of the supreme court; Innis, a prominent state official; only Wilkinson had to wait. The party of the future was unformed as yet. It was to come out at Virginia immigration. Nicholas and Robert Breckinridge, the new governor Isaac Shelby, and others were to belong to it. But a younger Breckinridge and his contemporaries were to formulate its principles and shape its organization.

One further point illustrates the complete triumph of the Scotch-Irish law-loving element. The first code of criminal law was the fruit of these

years of striving after an efficient government. It was worthy of a Draco. No less than one hundred and sixty offenses were visited with punishment by death. It was no backwoods code. It was a survival of the seventeenth century on the threshold of the nineteenth. It was impossible to effectuate such a code. One county by its grand jury entered its protest by indicting it. The pendulum was at its farthest swing. Law and order had won the day. The disunion chimera faded away. Ordinary methods came again with the young blood from the East. John Breckenridge serving for a year as attorney-general saw that the severity of the criminal code defeated its purpose, resigned and entered the legislature with the design of preparing a new code. The result was a code in which wilful murder alone was punished capitally; the pendulum in five years had swung back—and again too far.

Estlin A. Marfield

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OHIO.

THE OLD TOWN OF GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN

GLIMPSES OF ITS EARLY SOCIAL LIFE

Perhaps no single spot in the great flourishing state of Wisconsin possesses more interest than the old town of Green Bay, situated at the head of the bay of the same name, an arm of Lake Michigan, into which the beautiful Fox river flows. We are accustomed to think and speak of Wisconsin as a comparatively new state, but when William Penn made his first treaty with the Indians and founded his model city on the banks of the Delaware, the Jesuit fathers had been more than ten years established at the mission of St. Francis Xavier at the head of "La Baye Verte," *a thousand miles west* of Philadelphia, and their settlement was never entirely deserted through all the subsequent perils which attended the pioneers of this region. Here is a rich mine of thrilling and romantic episodes for the historian. Remains of the buildings occupied by the fathers were to be traced in 1822, and tradition still preserves their memories in the name of the little town occupying the site of the ruins—Dépère, originally Despères. To the Indians they were indeed fathers, revered and loved. While the natives on the Atlantic coast surrendered their lands in exchange for the smooth words and gifts of the politic Quaker governor, these wild tribes of the northwest, wrought upon in a far different manner, yielded the obedience of love and faith to those who carried the cross through every imaginable peril and who preached and taught among them. They reclaimed many savages from a wandering life, induced them to work as mechanics and to raise corn for food. To one who has visited the historic spot imagination can easily replace the little church, surrounded by the rude buildings of the mission and surmounted by the cross, "pointing its moral" through primeval forests to the heaven which signified to the Indians the "happy hunting-grounds" of their fathers.

To Father Allouez has been attributed the founding of this mission. Fathers Marquette and Joliet embarked from it on their memorable voyage to the Mississippi river, and Marquette, returning, wrote his narrative of the voyage there during the following winter. In 1680 Hennepin and Du Lhut remained some months at the mission, and La Salle visited it, traveling on foot from Fort Crèvecoeur on the Illinois river. Nicholas Perrot, for many years the French governor of the northwest, was fre-

quently at the mission, and bestowed upon it in 1686 a costly "ostensorium" or "soleil" in silver in *repoussé* work.* The mission church was afterward burned and this beautiful and curious relic lost, and then dug up a hundred and fifteen years afterward, during the excavation for a new house at Green Bay. A fort was established at this point by the French, at what precise period is uncertain, but expeditions were sent from it against more distant Indian tribes in 1716 and 1748.

The garrison of this fort is said to have been withdrawn before the French war in 1754, but nine years previously the first permanent settler, not brought by religious or military interests, had arrived in the person of Sieur Augustin de Langlade, a Frenchman of noble birth, who brought with him his family, and whose descendants live here at the present day. He was soon followed by other French Canadians, "voyageurs" and "coureurs des bois," some of whom brought their wives and others married among the Indian tribes around them. Charles de Langlade, the son of Augustin, won honorable military renown fighting against the English in the old French war. To him was attributed by General Burgoyne the success of the French in the memorable attack upon General Braddock. Transferring his allegiance to the English when they became masters of Canada, which he loved as his native land, he fought with them against the colonists in our revolutionary struggle. It is recorded of him that in his long life he had taken part in ninety-nine battles and skirmishes. His reputation for integrity in private life was as spotless as his military record. The evening of his days was passed at his home at "La Baye Verte," where he died in 1800, in the faith of the Catholic church, leaving a name honored and esteemed throughout the northwest. He has been called the father of Wisconsin. The daughter of Langlade married a Frenchman, Pierre Grignon, and five grandsons of that name inherited the Langlade lands and possessions, and were all settled at Green Bay or in the immediate vicinity when the first English settlers arrived there.

These advanced guards of the army of restless adventurers which soon

* This gift was the sun-shaped silver circlet surmounting a base of silver, in which the sacramental wafer is held up for popular veneration. It was called a *soleil*, from its resemblance to the shape of the solar orb; also in Latin an *ostensorium*, because it ostentates or demonstrates the sacred symbol. The resident mission goldsmith inscribed the name of the donor in deep-cut characters beneath the base; also the name of the mission, *St. Francis Xavier*, its local habitation, the *Bay of the Puans*, and the date of presentation, 1686. This unique relic, which has been fortunately discovered and miraculously preserved, was exhibited by Professor J. D. Butler of Madison, Wisconsin, during his address at the centennial celebration of the establishment of government in the northwest, at Mariette, Ohio, in July, 1888. Not a letter of its ancient inscription appeared to be effaced, or a line obscured by time's rough treatment.—EDITOR.

began to pour over the northwest found at Green Bay one of those almost idyllic communities which Longfellow has scarcely idealized in *Evangeline*. The French, as everybody knows, are eminently social in their natures, and they had so divided the lands of which they had taken possession that they often contained only an acre or two in width, while they claimed two or three miles in depth. The writer remembers copying an early map of Fox river near its mouth with the lands which had been surveyed, in which these curiously laid out farms formed a conspicuous feature. The settlers were thus for all social purposes brought so near together that the long winter evenings could always be brightened with the music and dancing so dear to the French heart.

The first American settlers found the French residents a most innocent, honest, and truthful people. They had very little money and needed very little, their farms and the woods and the broad river and bay giving them food and clothing and everything they required for happiness. Their farming implements were to American eyes most clumsy and antiquated, and they used quaintly yoked bull teams attached to their plows which might have descended from classic days. They dressed almost entirely in the skins procured in the chase, with the addition of a few cotton goods obtained from the traders. Moccasins in place of shoes were almost universally worn. The woods were full of game, and when the Lenten season came the river and bay yielded the finest of fish. As a matter of course, they were all good Catholics. The Roman church neglects none of its children, and they were all baptized Christians, faithfully taught the creed and commandments, and conscientiously observing the fasts and feasts of the church.

From Christmas to Ash Wednesday their low snug houses, thoroughly banked from cold without and thoroughly warmed within, resounded at evening with music and mirth, feasting and dancing. The cold northern moon saw them on their low sledges called "traines," drawn by swift Indian ponies, visiting from house to house. All their revels were conducted with the politeness and strict good breeding of their French ancestry. Lent was observed with a solemnity lightened by the anticipation of the joyous Easter festival, kept at the sugar-camps in the great woods which were just wakening at the touch of spring.

To the young people among the American settlers no pleasure party was more delightful than a drive to the sugar-camps at this season. First, the spirited race on the frozen river until a point opposite some camp was reached, and then the jolting drive through "brake, bush, and brier," and over logs, every jolt emphasized with the merriest of laughter, under

the stimulus of the pure northern atmosphere, just vaporized by the melting snow under a warm spring sun. At the camp the Canadian was found with his whole family. It was his "spring resort," and his "house in town" was closed for the season. Children of all ages tumbled about in the snow, and over the logs, the sugar-kettles were boiling, and the delicious candy cooling on snow in birch-bark trays. No modern fashionable picnic was ever half so delightful. The only rival to these excursions was a summer voyage in one of the long birch-bark canoes of the Indians, paddled by their hands, up the broad sweep of the beautiful river and along its lovely windings, shaded by trees that as yet had never heard the woodsman's ax. Such a voyage in a summer morning transcended all the so-called pleasure journeys of civilized life. Many "who have been young and now are old," can vouch for it.

The families of the brothers Grignon and of two or three wealthy Indian traders allied to them formed an educated class superior to the French around them. The men of this class were in nearly every instance courteous, hospitable, kind-hearted, and possessed of most polished and agreeable manners. The elder members of these families had largely been well educated at the French schools in Canada, and spoke that language almost exclusively; but as the American settlers became more numerous, the younger children were sent to English schools with a view to acquiring the language, so that they usually spoke both English and French fluently. No class of women could be found possessing, as a rule, more charming manners than many of these educated descendants of the early French settlers. The slight mixture of Indian blood seemed only an added charm. The grace and ease of the French woman had a slight touch of the soft shyness of the Indian girl.

The writer can recall the impression made upon him in very early youth by two of these ladies—one the eldest daughter of John Lane, a wealthy Indian trader, whose hospitable home was open to all, and whose name was a synonym for honor and integrity through all that region; and the other the eldest daughter of Louis Grignon. Both these ladies were the daughters of French and Indian mothers, had been educated at convents at Montreal, and, though understanding English perfectly, seldom used any language in speaking but the French, their mother tongue. The soft and graceful stateliness of their manners, and the sweet-voiced French accents, made an impression not easily effaced. Miss Grignon had had the honor of rejecting a proposal of marriage from a *sor-disant* scion of the Bourbons. No less a person than the "lost Dauphin" had laid siege to her heart, and failed there as signally as in his efforts to establish his claim to the crown

of his ancestors. This gentleman, then known as Rev. Eleazar Williams, a clergyman of the Episcopal church, first came to Green Bay about the year 1821, in connection with the removal of the Oneida Indians to lands near the bay. He resided there for many years, and after his failure with Miss Grignon married a young lady of French and Indian descent.

He then claimed to be descended from that daughter of the Rev. Mr. Williams of Deerfield, Massachusetts, who remained with and married among the Indians, after the attack upon Deerfield, familiar to all acquainted with early New England history. He had at that time apparently no suspicion of his royal blood. His career at Green Bay did not win him the confidence of the people nor of the church which he at first represented, but which subsequently disowned him. His reputation, or rather want of reputation for truth and veracity, soon became generally known. After his connection with the church was dissolved, he sold at auction a large number of copies of the Bible, sent him by the missionary society for distribution among the Indians. These did not net him a large sum, bringing usually only five cents each. Among them was a Bible now in the possession of the writer, and which contains on the fly-leaf this inscription: "The property of Lazau Williams, Present from his greatest earthly benefactor, Mr. N. Ely, Bought Nov. 29th, 1801, In the 26th yr of U. S. I. Pretium 20."

It was evident from the sale of this book for five cents that Mr. Williams discounted gratitude largely. Perhaps this might be considered an additional proof of his kingly ancestry. His ambition did not vault so highly in the beginning as at a later period. A gentleman who traced his descent from the Williams family of Deerfield resided temporarily at Green Bay for two or three years. He and Mr. Williams had sometimes jokingly claimed cousinship. Several years after this gentleman left Green Bay, but previous to the appearance of the lost Dauphin story, he chanced to meet Mr. Williams while traveling, and afterward related with much enjoyment a romantic story the reverend gentleman had narrated to him. How a daughter of the captive from Deerfield and her Indian husband, had married a French officer, accompanied him to France, become the mother of a child, and, with a skill worthy of little Buttercup or of Mr. Williams himself, had "mixed those babies up" in such a manner that she became the ancestress of King Louis Philippe, who appears to have been quite ignorant of this little branchlet on his family tree, but who thus became, Mr. Williams asserted, the cousin of himself and of the person to whom he told the story.

Mr. Williams's ambition appears to have grown by what it fed upon, and,

not contented with so vague and distant a relationship to royalty, we find him in New York a few years later, posing to admiring crowds as the full-fledged Dauphin.

After the influx of American settlers a new town was laid out at Green Bay, a mile or two below the old, called "Shanty Town," and soon became a well-built and flourishing place, at a time when the rest of Wisconsin was almost a wilderness. Troops were stationed at Fort Howard on the opposite side of the river, and the social life had much of the cultivation of an old town, united with the lively gayety of a new settlement.* Milwaukee was still a struggling village, and Green Bay people, after a visit there, were accustomed to pity the new-comers to a town which "is growing, it is true, but which really has no society." Times have changed with these once rival towns, but if Green Bay has not kept pace in growth with her enterprising and ambitious neighbor, she can still take pride in her almost unrivaled location, her broad river and lovely bay, and, let us hope, in her "good society."

John Carter

WISCONSIN.

* The wife of a celebrated army officer, who served nobly in our late civil war, writes to the editor: "The view looking up the river from the top of the hill above Shanty Town was always beautiful, but on a summer's morning it presented a picture never to fade from one's memory—of the broad placid stream with scarcely a ripple on its surface, the distant point running far out where the river bends to the west on its eastern shore and then flows north on its course into the bay just above old Fort Howard. On a visit to Green Bay some years since the general and myself stepped from the cars on the very spot where his quarters had once stood. I have a photograph of the old stockade (for it was merely that) taken just before it was torn down. In place of the dear old fort now stands the flourishing town of Howard. I don't think there was ever a time in the early days, and for a long series of years when there was not from two to a half dozen Indian wigwams dotting the shore of the river in front of the large old-fashioned house of Judge Law."—EDITOR.

COLONEL WILLIAM GRAYSON

One of the brilliant men from Virginia in the first senate of the United States was William Grayson, who, reaching New York city, took his seat in that body on the 21st of May, 1789, a little more than a year before his death. He had been a member of the Virginia convention of 1788 for the adoption of the Constitution, and was one of the minority who opposed the measure. He was considered the handsomest man in that Virginia convention, his figure grand and imposing and one of perfect symmetry, being over six feet in height and weighing two hundred and fifty pounds, eyes black and animated, forehead high, complexion fair, with a large nose, and well-formed lips disclosing white and regular teeth of great beauty with every magnetic smile which illumined his features. He is said also to have had remarkably small hands and feet. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D., in his *History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788*, recently published in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, says of Grayson: "His powers of humor, wit, sarcasm, ridicule, prolonged and sustained by argument and declamation, were unrivaled. He was in the meridian of his fame the most elegant gentleman as well as the most accomplished debater of his age. His speeches abound in passages of humor and sarcasm, not put forth to excite mirth, but to advance his argument and to annoy his adversaries. Nor did he confine himself to those illustrations which, reflected from the classics, have a lustre not to be questioned though sometimes hard to perceive, but drew his images from the common life around him. When, in proving that the dangers from the neighboring states—which had been marshaled by the friends of the Constitution in dread array, as likely to overwhelm Virginia in the event of the rejection of that instrument—were imaginary, he ridiculed such apprehensions of alarm, and, turning to South Carolina, described the citizens of that gallant state as rushing to invade us, mounted, not on the noble Arabian which poetry as well as history had clothed with beauty and with terror, not with the cavalry of civilized nations, but upon alligators, suddenly summoned from the swamps and bridled and saddled for the nonce—a cavalry worthy of such a cause—that of crushing a sister commonwealth—his sally was received with roars of laughter from both sides of the house.

His distinctive superiority in argumentation was marked by the mode which he pursued, and which was peculiar to himself. Thoroughly com-

prehending his theme in all its parts, as if it were a problem in pure mathematics, and conscious of his strength, he would play with his subject most wantonly, calling to his aid arguments and illustrations, the full bearing of which he saw and which he knew he could manage, but which to ordinary hearers were fraught with danger, as they were easy of misrepresentation. He was equally wanton in treating the arguments of his adversaries, pushing them to the greatest extremes, and, as he worked his way without the slightest intermixture of passion, often producing an effect upon his audience most worrying to his opponents, and near akin to the exhibition of humor in itself. One practical effect was, that men laughed as heartily during his most profound arguments at the display of the wit of reason, as they are wont to do at the display of the wit which in other speakers ordinarily flows from the imagination.

He was fond of society, and whether he appeared at the fireside of the man of one hoghead (planters were designated in his time according to the number of hogheads of tobacco they made annually) or in the aristocratic circles of the colony, he was ever a welcome and honored guest. His conversation, playful, sparkling, or profound, as the time or topic required or the mood prompted, has left its impress upon our own times; and it was in conversation that he appeared with a lustre hardly inferior to that which adorned his forensic disputations. His humor was inexhaustible, and the young and the old, grave statesmen as well as young men, who are ever ready to show their charity by honoring the jests of middle-aged people, were alike captivated by it. We are told by a friend who in 1786 walked from the hall of congress, then sitting in New York, in company with Grayson and others, on their way to their boarding-house, that Grayson became lively, and threw out jests with such an effect that the gentlemen were so convulsed with laughter as hardly to be able to walk erect through the streets, he quite serious the while."

Grayson was a fine Latin scholar and rarely permitted a slip in a quotation to pass uncriticised. One of his opponents in the convention sought to derive the word contract from *con* and *tracto*, and Grayson instantly trolled out in an undertone that was distinctly heard by the learned gentleman on the floor, "*tra-ho*." The laugh was inevitable, and it passed like a wave from the spot where it was raised gradually to the remote parts of the house. Grayson is reported to have said he was not surprised that men who were, in his opinion, about to vote away the freedom of a living people, should take liberties with a dead tongue.

THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY PSALM BOOK, A.D. 1640

ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY

Governor John Winthrop, in his history of New England, chronicles the fact in March, 1639, that a "Printery," or printing-house was begun at Cambridge by one Stephen Daye, representing Joseph Glover who had died on the voyage. A broadside oath for freemen to sign, and *Pierce's little Almanack* were the initial issues from that pioneer press, followed in 1640 by the publication of *The Whole Book of Psalmes*, newly translated into English meter, "for the use, edification and comfort of the Saintes in New England."

This was the first book in our language that was both written and printed in America, and it has always been known as the *Massachusetts Bay Psalm Book*, to distinguish it from the *Ainsworth Psalter*, used by the Plymouth Rock Pilgrims.

The singing of psalms "setting forth the praises of the Lord," without instrumental music, was an integral portion of Puritan worship; but, as Sternhold & Hopkins's version, bound up with their Bibles, did not suit the extreme theology of these rigid Calvinists, no time was lost in the preparation of a new translation, which was confided to Richard Mather, "whose voice was loud and big," associated with John Eliot, the renowned apostle to the Indians, and Thomas Weld, ministers of the gospel, then stationed at Roxbury.

Francis Quarles, a kindred spirit, who wrote the *Divine Emblems*, so satirized by Pope, sent as a contribution, across the broad Atlantic, translations of several of the Psalms, to aid them in their pious work. The result of their labors was a poetic anomaly, happily unique in English literature; the language at times being uncouth and unintelligible, grammar ignored, the sense confused, and the ear filled with discord. As specimens of English verse, nothing could be more humiliating; indeed, these crude rhymesters confessed that their task was more literal than melodious. The type-setters kept pace with the compilers—their errors crowding every page. But the punctuation baffles description!

Notwithstanding all this, the work succeeded by austere discipline, if not by merit. This historic Book of Psalms—an octavo volume of three hundred unnumbered pages—commences with a stringent admonition to

the reader, in quaint phraseology, followed by Richard Mather's weary preface of thirteen pages. The translators were all graduates of Emanuel college, the nursery for Puritans, in the university of Cambridge.

As but five, or at most six, perfect copies of the original edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* are now known to be in the United States (inclusive of one among the treasures in the Lenox library), it is greatly coveted by book-hunters. For a very choice copy, at the Brinley sale, Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt paid the considerable sum of \$1,200. Richard Mather's *own* copy, with autograph annotations, reposes on the shelves of a famous library in Rhode Island. Bishop Tanner, the great antiquarian, formerly owned the copy now in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

A second edition appeared in 1647; of this, the only copy known to bibliographers sold for \$435. An entirely new edition was issued in 1650, revised and *refined* by President Dunster of Harvard college, who had married the widow Glover. It went through more than fifty editions, not including those reprinted for the Presbyterians of Old England and the kirk in Scotland. A limited number of the original edition, in exact *fac-simile*, was printed in 1862, which now readily brings \$30.

It may now be opportune to remind the curious reader that the present year is the *quarter-millennial* anniversary of the first publication of the Massachusetts Bay Psalm Book, in 1640.

Clement Ferguson

PORTLAND, MAINE.

A CENTURY OF CABINET MINISTERS

1789-1889

Since the inauguration of the federal government there have been thirty-one secretaries of state and of the navy, thirty-five postmaster-generals, thirty-nine secretaries of the treasury, forty secretaries of war and attorney-generals, and seventeen secretaries of the interior. The smallness of the latter is explained by the more recent creation of that department. The changes in the cabinet, when contrasted with the number of Presidents within the same period, becomes interesting.

During the early administrations there were only four cabinet officers. The first was Alexander Hamilton, who was appointed secretary of the treasury on the 11th of September, 1789. The following day Henry Knox was made secretary of war. The other two were not appointed until September 26, when Thomas Jefferson was appointed secretary of state and Edmund Randolph attorney-general. The difference in the dates of the appointment of Hamilton and Jefferson was due to two reasons. The treasury department was organized under an act of September 2, while the department of state was organized thirteen days later. Then, too, Mr. Jefferson only accepted his portfolio after the earnest solicitation of the President. Morse, in his *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, says Mr. Jefferson sailed from Cowes, October 23, 1789, "and December 23 was welcomed by his slaves at Monticello. At his departure he had supposed that he was returning home for a visit of a few months only, and that he should speedily go back to watch the progress of the French Revolution. He was now so much more interested in this movement than in any other matter that he was by no means gratified to find awaiting him upon his arrival an invitation from the President to fill the place of secretary of state." During Washington's first administration there were no changes made in his cabinet, and he began his second term with the same ministers. During the year 1792, however, there had been more or less friction, Hamilton and Knox being in sympathy with the federalists, and Jefferson and Randolph with the opposition. Lodge, in his *Life of Washington*, states concisely: "The difficulty was that there was not only discordance in the views of the two secretaries, but a fundamental political difference, extending throughout the people, which they typified. . . . In one word, a real,

profound, and inevitable party division had come, and it had found the opposing chiefs side by side in the cabinet. . . . Having failed in congress and before the public to ruin his opponent, and having failed equally to shake Washington's confidence in Hamilton or the latter's influence in the administration, Jefferson made up his mind that the cabinet was no longer the place for him," and accordingly he resigned his seat December 31, 1792, retiring to his residence in Virginia. Two days later the President transferred Mr. Randolph to the state department, and towards the end of the month appointed William Bradford attorney-general. The next change was the resignation of Secretary Knox, who, at the close of the year, "retired to Boston," and Timothy Pickering was chosen to succeed him as secretary of war on the 2d of January, 1795. Pickering had been postmaster-general previous to that time, but that department was a branch of the treasury until 1829. On the 31st of January Secretary Hamilton resigned his place for purely personal reasons, and Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut succeeded him February 2. In August following Mr. Bradford died, and December 10 Charles Lee of Virginia was made attorney-general. During the month of August Secretary Randolph also resigned, and Timothy Pickering became secretary of state. On January 27, 1796, the vacancy in the war department was filled by James McHenry of Maryland, which was the last cabinet change under Washington.

John Adams retained the cabinet as it stood at the close of Washington's second term. The controversy over our relations with France, which had caused much excitement during the former administrations, assumed a more serious aspect in the fall of 1797 and spring of 1798. In June of this year an act was passed suspending commercial relations with France, and in April the navy was made a separate department from that of war. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, 1798, the President offered the navy department to George Cabot of Massachusetts, but he declined, and on the 21st of May Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland was appointed to that position.

President Adams, February, 1799, without consulting his cabinet, appointed three envoys to negotiate further with France. This act of the President was met with a remonstrance on the part of Pickering and McHenry, and resulted in making "the breach which had long been widening irreparable." In speaking of Pickering, Wolcott, and McHenry, and their betrayal of cabinet secrets to Hamilton, Morse, in his *Life of John Adams*, says: "Nothing more unfortunate befell any one of them throughout his career. . . . Pickering, Wolcott, McHenry, honest men all, do the only ignoble acts of their lives." On May 5, 1800, McHenry had an

interview with the President, and "resigned next morning." Mr. Morse thinks that "Pickering richly deserved unceremonious expulsion, but Mr. Adams courteously offered him the opportunity to resign." The opportunity was not improved, and accordingly Mr. Pickering was dismissed. John Marshall of Virginia was nominated secretary of state and Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts secretary of war, May 13, 1800. The same writer, in speaking of Wolcott and his relations with the President, says that Mr. Wolcott "continued for some months longer to combine external civility and deference to the President with the function of cabinet reporter, so to speak—and to avoid the word spy—for Mr. Hamilton." However, he also resigned in November, his resignation to take effect December 31, 1800. On New Year's Day, 1801, Mr. Dexter was transferred from the war to the treasury department. Roger Griswold of Connecticut was appointed secretary of war February 3, and performed the duties of that department for the remaining month of this administration. Another name must be added to the list of cabinet officers under President Adams. Theodore Parsons of Massachusetts acted as attorney-general from February 20 to March 4, 1801.

President Jefferson, March 5, 1801, appointed James Madison secretary of state; Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts, secretary of war; and Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, attorney-general. Mr. Dexter continued to act as secretary of the treasury until May 14 of this year, when Albert Gallatin was appointed to that department. Likewise Mr. Stoddert acted as secretary of the navy until the appointment of Robert Smith of Maryland, July 15, 1801. No further changes were made during Jefferson's first term, but upon the reorganization of the cabinet in March, 1805, Jacob Crowninshield of Massachusetts became secretary of the navy in place of Secretary Smith. Two other changes were also made: John Breckinridge of Kentucky was appointed attorney-general August 7 of this same year, but died soon after, and January 20, 1807, Cæsar A. Rodney of Pennsylvania was appointed in his place.

President Madison retained Messrs. Gallatin and Rodney as secretary of the treasury and attorney-general respectively. It is stated on good authority that the state department would have been given to Thomas Jefferson if he had seen fit to accept it. March 6, Robert Smith of Maryland was announced as the new secretary of state. The following day William Eustis of Massachusetts was made secretary of war, and Paul Hamilton of South Carolina secretary of the navy. April 2, 1811, James Monroe became secretary of state in place of Robert Smith, resigned. Mr. Smith was afterwards offered the embassy to Russia, but declined the

appointment. In December of this year William Pinkney of Maryland was appointed attorney-general in place of Mr. Rodney.

The first term of President Madison was drawing to a close when he was waited upon by a delegation of leaders in congress, "and informed, in substance, that war with England was now resolved upon by the democratic party, the supporters of his administration . . . that unless a declaration of war took place previous to the presidential election the success of the democratic party might be endangered, and the government thrown into the hands of the federalists; that unless Mr. Madison consented to act with his friends, and accede to a declaration of war with Great Britain, neither his nomination nor his re-election to the presidency could be relied on," and accordingly Mr. Madison yielded to the policy of his party, although not himself in favor of the war. The President was not well supported by his cabinet, "Mr. Monroe being the only one of military taste. . . . Eustis knew but little of military affairs, and the secretary of the navy had no knowledge of naval affairs to qualify him for his position." Mr. Gallatin was opposed to war, and the attorney-general thought the country was not prepared to go to war. Such being the state of affairs, the cause for the resignations of Hamilton and Eustis could be guessed easily. On January 12, 1813, William Jones of Pennsylvania was made secretary of the navy, and on the following day General John Armstrong of New York became secretary of the war department.

The President, in 1813, appointed Messrs. Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard envoys to Great Britain, to negotiate for peace. The senate rejected the nomination of Gallatin by a vote of eighteen to seventeen, on the ground that the appointment was inconsistent with the office of secretary of the treasury. His nomination was confirmed afterwards, but during his absence the position of secretary of the treasury was declared vacant, and George W. Campbell of Tennessee was appointed to the post on the 9th of February, 1814. The following day Richard Rush of Pennsylvania became attorney-general in place of Pinkney, resigned. Mr. Pinkney's retirement was due to the passage of a law in 1814, requiring the attorney-general to reside at the seat of the government. After a very short term of office Mr. Campbell was compelled to resign on account of poor health, and in his place the President selected Alexander James Dallas of Pennsylvania for the treasury portfolio.

General Armstrong retired from the war department in September, 1814. Although he had performed his duties creditably, "his lack of success against Canada and the sack of Washington city by the British, in August, 1814, rendered him unpopular. He was censured, and obliged

to resign." From the date of Armstrong's resignation until February, 1815, the secretary of state performed the duties of the war department. From March until August 1 Mr. Dallas discharged the duties of this department in addition to his regular work in the treasury, and during the remainder of this administration William H. Crawford was the secretary of war. He probably would have been appointed earlier but for his absence as minister to France until the close of the year 1815.

Two more changes occurred in President Madison's cabinet. December 19, 1814, B. W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts was appointed secretary of the navy in place of William Jones, resigned. Mr. Dallas retired from the treasury in November, 1816, to practice law in Philadelphia. It has well been said of Dallas that his management of the department was able and energetic. "Treasury notes which were scarcely current when he assumed office, were sold at par with interest added, a few months later." Soon after his resignation he died. Crawford acted as secretary of the treasury until the inauguration of the new President in March, 1817.

President Monroe retained Mr. Crawford permanently in the treasury department, and reappointed Richard Rush attorney-general, and B. W. Crowninshield secretary of the navy. The new officers were John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for secretary of state, and Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, secretary of war. Mr. Shelby declined the appointment, and George Graham of Virginia was chosen, the 7th of April following. One biographer of President Monroe calls attention to the fact that it was his policy to have the different geographical sections of the country represented in his cabinet. A much stronger motive prompted him to have the different sections represented than would prompt a President to-day to study geography in his appointments. Monroe's idea was not simply to maintain the democratic party in power, but to bring the entire opposition "into the republican fold as quietly as possible," by evincing a spirit of moderation toward the federalists. Such were his declared intentions, in a letter to Jackson.

Three changes occurred during his first term. October 8, 1817, John C. Calhoun was appointed secretary of war, and William Wirt was made attorney-general in November, succeeding Richard Rush, who was sent to England. One year later Smith Thompson of New York was appointed secretary of the navy in place of Mr. Crowninshield. During Monroe's second term only one change occurred. Secretary Thompson resigned, to accept the nomination as associate justice, and in his place Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey, was appointed to the navy department, 16th of September, 1821.

John Quincy Adams retained two of the cabinet officers under the former administration. William Wirt continued as attorney-general, and Samuel L. Southard as secretary of the navy. Mr. Wirt not only made a very able attorney-general, but in one respect at least he resembled a philosopher. When asked why he did not aspire higher in political preferment, he is credited with having replied, "I am already higher than I had any reason to expect, and I should be light-headed indeed, because I have been placed on this knoll, where I feel safe, to aspire at the mountain's pinnacle in order to be blown to atoms."

On the 7th of March President Adams completed his cabinet by appointing Henry Clay of Kentucky secretary of state, Richard Rush secretary of the treasury, and James Barbour of Virginia secretary of war. The confirmation of these appointments, excepting that of Henry Clay, was unanimous. Twenty-seven voted in favor of Clay's confirmation, and fourteen voted against it.

It will be remembered that at the preceding presidential election the electoral vote stood ninety-nine for Jackson, eighty-four for Adams, forty-one for Crawford, and thirty-seven for Clay. The choice went to the house of representatives, and Clay not being one of the three highest in the vote of the electoral college, was debarred by the Constitution from the contest. The friends of Clay supported Adams. The opposition charged that there had been a bargain between Adams and Clay that if the friends of Clay elected Adams President he would appoint Clay secretary of state. These charges were made especially by the friends of Jackson and Calhoun. As Clay was a man of sufficient merit to have deserved the appointment, he did not lack friends to deny the charges of corruption and bargain. Professor Sumner, in his *Life of Jackson*, in commenting on these charges, says that it was only "an inference from Clay's appointment, and nothing more. . . . Not a particle of other evidence was alleged. We have never had any definition of the proper limits of combinations, bargains, and pledges in politics; but an agreement to make Clay secretary of state, if made, could not be called a *corrupt* bargain. . . . A corrupt bargain must be one in which there is collusion for private gain at the expense of the public welfare."

The only cabinet change during this administration was the appointment of Peter B. Porter of New York, secretary of war, May 26, 1828, in place of Barbour, resigned. The latter accepted an appointment as minister to England. Andrew Jackson, on the 6th of March, 1829, appointed Martin Van Buren of New York secretary of state, and Samuel D. Ingham of Pennsylvania secretary of the treasury. Three days later

the cabinet was completed by the following appointments: John H. Eaton of Tennessee, secretary of war; John Branch of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; William T. Barry of Kentucky, postmaster-general, and John M. Berrien of Georgia, attorney-general. Jackson was the first President to invite the postmaster-general to a seat in the cabinet. Van Buren was unable to act as secretary of state at once, on account of his duties as governor of New York. Accordingly, James A. Hamilton performed the duties of that department temporarily.

President Jackson had considerable trouble with his cabinet through his original ideas about the duties and rank of cabinet officers. Professor Sumner says: "Calhoun had been re-elected Vice-President. He now understood that Jackson would take only one term, and that he (Calhoun) would have all Jackson's support in 1832. Van Buren, however, who had come into Jackson's political family at a late date, had views and ambitions which crossed this programme of Calhoun. These two men came into collision in the formation of the cabinet. Jackson introduced two innovations. He put the secretaries back more nearly into the place in which they belong by the original theory of the law. He made them executive clerks or staff officers. The fashion has grown up of calling the secretaries the President's constitutional advisers. It is plain that they are not anything of the kind. He is not bound to consult them, and, if he does, it does not detract from his responsibility. Jackson, by the necessity of his character and preparation, and by the nature of the position to which he had been elected, must lean on somebody. He had a number of intimate friends and companions, on whom he relied. They did not hold important public positions. They came to be called the 'Kitchen Cabinet.' The men were William B. Lewis, Amos Kendall, Duff Green, and Isaac Hill. . . . Jackson's second innovation was that he did not hold cabinet councils. Hence his administration lacked unity and discipline. It did not have the strength of hearty and conscious co-operation."

According to the *Statesman's Manual*, at the beginning of the administration "the star of the Vice-President was deemed to be in the ascendant." Soon, however, the constellations seemed to favor Van Buren. A quarrel took place between Jackson and Calhoun, having its origin in a reopening of the controversy over the conduct of the former in the Seminole campaign of 1818. The adherents of Calhoun charged the friends of Van Buren with having renewed this controversy to weaken the influence of their leader with the President. In April, 1831, the President determined to dismiss his cabinet, or, rather, reorganize it, by having the

members *resign*. This change was a new procedure, and its object was to strengthen the democratic party in the approaching presidential election. On the 7th of April Mr. Eaton resigned without assigning any reason. On the 11th of April Van Buren resigned, to announce himself as a candidate for President, and he did not think it consistent with the duties of a cabinet officer to be a candidate for the presidency. These resignations were followed by the resignations of Ingham, Branch, and Berrien. The postmaster-general alone remained, and, as charges of corruption preferred against him were still pending in a committee of the senate, "it was deemed improper for him to retire." The new cabinet was appointed as follows: May 23, Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, secretary of the navy; May 24, Edward Livingston of Louisiana, secretary of state; July 20, Roger B. Taney of Maryland, attorney-general; August 1, Lewis Cass of Ohio, secretary of war; August 8, Louis McLane of Delaware, secretary of the treasury. It will be noticed how strongly Jackson endeavored to conciliate the South in selecting his cabinet. It will be remembered that Calhoun was very strong in the South.

During Jackson's second administration several changes occurred. Mr. Livingston retired, to accept the appointment of minister to France, and on May 29, 1833, Louis McLane was promoted to the state department. There was another reason for transferring McLane to this department. He was unwilling to remove the treasury deposits from the United States Bank, and this was an easy solution of a controversy over that matter. Accordingly, on the same day, William J. Duane of Pennsylvania became secretary of the treasury. Jackson had made a mistake in his man. Mr. Duane refused to remove the deposits without orders from congress to do so. He also refused to resign. Accordingly, Jackson removed him on the 23d of September, and transferred Roger B. Taney, the attorney-general, to the treasury department, and November 15, Benjamin F. Butler of New York was made attorney-general. June 27, 1834, John Forsyth of Georgia was made secretary of state in place of Mr. McLane. In June, 1834, another vacancy occurred in the treasury department. Taney had endeavored to remove the deposits, and in his efforts he succeeded in incurring the hostility of a majority in the senate, and to "Jackson's indignation," that august body rejected his appointment as secretary of the department. Levi Woodbury was therefore transferred from the navy to the treasury department, and Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey was appointed secretary of the navy. Amos Kendall of Kentucky was appointed postmaster-general the 1st of May, 1835, in place of Mr. Barry, who went as minister to Spain.

Van Buren retained the cabinet of Jackson with one exception. Lewis Cass had been appointed minister to France in the preceding year. Accordingly, Joel R. Poinset of South Carolina was made secretary of war. During the absence of Mr. Cass, Mr. Butler had been acting as secretary of war in addition to his office of attorney-general. Few changes were made during this administration. June 25, 1838, James K. Paulding, of New York, was appointed secretary of the navy in place of Mr. Dickerson, resigned. Van Buren invited Washington Irving to this position, but when Mr. Irving declined, the place was given to Paulding.

The remaining three changes are told concisely in the words of Mr. Shepard in his *Life of Martin Van Buren*: In 1838, Van Buren's "old friend and ally, and one of the chief champions of his policy, Benjamin F. Butler, resigned the office of attorney-general, but without any break, political or personal. . . . Felix Grundy of Tennessee then held the post until late in 1839, when he resigned. Van Buren offered the place, though without much heartiness, to James Buchanan, who, however, preferred to retain his seat in the senate; and Henry D. Gilpin, another Pennsylvanian, was appointed. Amos Kendall's enormous industry and singular equipment of *doctrinaire* convictions, narrow prejudices, executive ability, and practical political skill and craft, were lost through the failure of his health in the midst of the campaign of 1840." On the 19th of May, 1840, John M. Niles of Connecticut succeeded Mr. Kendall.

William Henry Harrison became President March 4, 1841, and appointed the following cabinet officers: Daniel Webster, secretary of state; Thomas Ewing of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; John Bell of Tennessee, secretary of war; George E. Badger of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; Francis Granger of New York, postmaster-general; and John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, attorney-general. President Harrison appointed all his cabinet officers March 5, excepting Mr. Granger, who was appointed on the following day. Harrison was the first President who died in office, after the brief tenure of exactly one month, and a nation mourned its loss.

President Tyler retained the cabinet as constituted by Harrison. Without entering into the controversies between the Whigs and Tyler, we may say that Tyler vetoed two bank bills, and the dominating element of the Whig party despaired of compelling him to conform to its policy. Accordingly the entire cabinet, with the exception of Webster, resigned.

While Webster was disappointed with Tyler's position, he could not understand "in what manner the resignation of the cabinet was likely either to remove or mitigate the evils" resulting from the differences existing between the President and the Whigs. Henry A. Wise, in his

Seven Decades of the Union, says, that at a meeting of the cabinet, all the members being present except Webster, Clay demanded that they resign. "The matter was seriously debated; Mr. Bell of Tennessee was opposed to the retirement, and desired that the subject of the bank might be postponed, on condition that in the meantime no hostile movements should be made on the cabinet; and Mr. Crittenden himself, supposed to be most under the influence of Clay, playfully inquired whether he might in honor remain until the stock of wines he had laid in was consumed."

President Tyler filled the places of the ministers who had resigned, September 13, 1841, to the treasury department, Walter Forward of Pennsylvania; war, John McLean of Ohio; navy, Abel P. Upshur of Virginia; postmaster-general, Chas. A. Wickliffe of Kentucky; and attorney-general, Hugh S. Legaré of South Carolina. Judge McLean, however, declined his appointment, naturally preferring to remain a justice of the Supreme Court, and in his place John C. Spencer of New York was made secretary of war. No further changes were made until 1843, when Mr. Spencer was transferred to the treasury in place of Mr. Forward, resigned. Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts was nominated to the treasury before the transfer of Spencer, but was rejected by the senate, not so much that there was any objection to Mr. Cushing, but from an effort on the part of the senate to embarrass the administration. On the 8th of March Spencer's place in the war department was filled by James M. Porter of Pennsylvania.

The great work of Mr. Webster during this administration was the Ashburton treaty, determining our northeastern boundary. Upon the completion of this treaty he resigned his seat in the cabinet, and made room for a southern man, who in turn had a boundary problem to solve, the annexation of Texas. Of Webster it has been said by an eminent writer, that "he magnanimously retired to make way for a southern statesman, when the time came to take up the next most important matter of foreign relations—Texas." Mr. Legaré was made secretary of state, but died in June, 1843. Thus there occurred two vacancies in the cabinet. On the 1st of July John Nelson of Maryland was nominated attorney-general, and on the 24th of the same month Abel P. Upshur was transferred from the navy to the state department. On the same day David Henshaw of Massachusetts was appointed secretary of the navy. However, at the next session of the senate the nominations of Porter and Henshaw were rejected. Porter, Henshaw, and Nelson were democrats. New nominations were then made for the war and navy departments. On the 15th of February, 1844, William Wilkins of Pennsylvania was appointed to the former, and Thos. W. Gilmer of Virginia to the latter.

On the 28th of this same month two vacancies occurred, by the death of Messrs. Upshur and Gilmer, under the saddest of circumstances. They, with others, were on board the war-steamer *Princeton* to see the trial of a new gun, known for its effectiveness as the "Peacemaker." The gun exploded, killing the two secretaries. The Peacemaker was on the bow of the vessel. "The commodore had a splendid collation in the cabin, and, before the gun was fired, had invited all his guests below to partake of his generous hospitality. The ladies and the President were first shown to the table, and the ladies, being afraid of the gun, kept below, and detained the President with them. . . . The awful scene, as it occurred on deck, was fully described by officers and men of the ship. . . . One of the seamen, an 'old salt,' told us that Secretary Upshur distrusted the gun, and just before the moment of firing, desired him to place him at a point of safety. . . . Alas! how singular that, though the 'salt's' experience put the secretary at the very point where injury was least to have been expected, he was struck by two fragments of the torn cast iron, by one immediately over the right brow, cutting to the bone . . . and by the other on the watch-fob of his pantaloons, breaking his watch-crystal and instantly stopping the hands of the watch. We carefully bore the watch, as it was taken from his person, home to his family, and requested them to mark the time it told, as his pulse had ceased with the tick of the watch when its hands were stopped. . . . Gilmer's body, broken and crushed in every part, was driven to the port gunwale on the deck, looking like a wad of blue cloth, he having on a full circle Spanish cloak." Such was the sad ending of a pleasure party on a tour of inspection of the "Peacemaker." The two secretaries were not the only members of that happy crowd of excursionists who were suddenly hurled into eternity to make their final peace with their Creator.

Mr. Nelson, the attorney-general, temporarily discharged the duties of the state department, and Commodore L. Warrington acted temporarily as secretary of the navy. On the 6th of March, 1844, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was made secretary of state, and on the 14th of March, John Y. Mason of Virginia was appointed secretary of the navy.

One more change completes the list of cabinet officers under President Tyler. June 15 of this same year, George M. Bibb of Kentucky was appointed to the treasury in place of Mr. Spencer. The latter was opposed to the annexation of Texas, and, not concurring in the treaty of annexation, he resigned his portfolio. Such were the changes under President Tyler, whose enemies bitterly traduced him and whose friends as earnestly justified him.

James K. Polk was inaugurated March 4, 1845, and appointed the following cabinet: James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, secretary of state; Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, secretary of the treasury; William L. Marcy of New York, secretary of war; George Bancroft of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy; Cave Johnson of Tennessee, postmaster-general; and John Y. Mason of Virginia, attorney-general. Mr. Mason, it will be remembered, was secretary of the navy under Mr. Tyler.

Three changes occurred during this administration. Mr. Bancroft was sent as minister to England, and, September 9, 1846, Mr. Mason was assigned to the navy in his place. The vacancy in the office of attorney-general was filled by the appointment of Nathan Clifford of Maine, in place of Mr. Mason. In 1848, Mr. Clifford was appointed minister to Mexico, and Isaac Toucey of Connecticut became attorney-general.

The cabinet of Zachary Taylor consisted of John M. Clayton of Delaware, secretary of state; Wm. M. Meredith of Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury; George W. Crawford of Georgia, secretary of war; Wm. B. Preston of Virginia, secretary of the navy; Thomas Ewing, secretary of the interior; Jacob Collamer of Vermont, postmaster-general, and Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, attorney-general. Mr. Clayton was appointed on the 7th of March and the others on the 8th.

The department of the interior, it will be noticed, appears for the first time in the list of appointments. It was created by an act of congress at the close of the Polk administration. Its creation was due to the pressure of business in the war department, and was favored by Webster but opposed by Calhoun. In February, 1849, the act passed the house by a vote of one hundred and eleven in favor to seventy-six against. In March of that year it passed the senate by a vote of thirty-one in favor to twenty-five against. President Taylor introduced what was a new system at that time of distribution of the federal patronage. Instead of receiving personally applications for appointments he referred the matter to his respective secretaries for their recommendations. This administration was brought to an unexpected close by the death of President Taylor on the 9th of July, 1850. His administration was of too short duration to have accomplished any distinctive work, "but during the brief period rules that would govern were made manifest, and no law for civil-service reform was needful for his guidance. . . . The fact of holding democratic opinions was not a disqualification for the office. Nepotism had with him no quarter. So strict was he in this that to be a relative was an obstacle to appointment."

The resignations of the gentlemen of the cabinet were accepted by

Vice-President Fillmore, who, upon becoming President, appointed the following ministers: July 20, Edward Bates of Missouri, secretary of war, and James A. Pearce of Maryland, secretary of the interior. Both Bates and Pearce declined to accept, the latter preferring to retain his seat in the senate. On the 22d Mr. Fillmore nominated Daniel Webster secretary of state, Wm. A. Graham of North Carolina secretary of the navy, and John J. Crittenden attorney-general. On the following day Thomas Corwin of Ohio was made secretary of the treasury, Nathan K. Hall of New York postmaster-general, and from this date until August 15 Winfield Scott acted as secretary of war, when Charles M. Conrad of Louisiana was appointed to that department.

The President nominated on the same day Thos. M. T. McKennan of Pennsylvania as secretary of the interior, who "reluctantly accepting, went to Washington, but soon became disgusted with office routine and the importunities of place-hunters" and resigned. Alex. H. H. Stuart of Virginia was given the place on September 12. Three more changes occurred during this administration. In July, 1852, Mr. Graham retired, having been nominated for Vice-President on the Whig ticket, and John P. Kennedy of Maryland was appointed to the navy. Mr. Hall resigned the office of postmaster-general, in August of this same year, to accept the position of United States judge for the northern district of New York. Samuel D. Hubbard of Connecticut became postmaster-general in his place. The last change was caused by the death of Mr. Webster, on the 24th of October, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts became secretary of state.

With the exception of the first terms of Washington and Jefferson, Franklin Pierce is the only President whose cabinet remained unchanged through his entire administration of four years. His ministers, appointed March 7, were Wm. L. Marcy, secretary of state; James Guthrie, secretary of the treasury; Jefferson Davis, secretary of war; James C. Dobbin, secretary of the navy; Robert McClelland, secretary of the interior; James Campbell, postmaster-general, and Caleb Cushing, attorney-general.

James Buchanan chose Lewis Cass for the state department, Howell Cobb for the treasury, John B. Floyd of Virginia for war, Isaac Toucey of Connecticut for the navy, Jacob Thompson of Mississippi for the interior, Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee for postmaster-general, and Jeremiah S. Black for attorney-general. All these appointments were made March 6, 1857, and no change occurred until March 14, 1859, when Joseph Holt became postmaster-general in place of General Brown, deceased.

Three changes occurred in the cabinet during the month of December, 1860. On the 12th Philip F. Thomas of Maryland was appointed secretary

of the treasury, temporarily, in place of Howell Cobb, resigned. Mr. Cobb was in favor of secession, and returned to his native state, which was about to secede. On the 17th Jeremiah S. Black was transferred from the office of attorney-general to the state department in place of Lewis Cass, resigned. Mr. Cass and the President differed radically on the question whether the United States could coerce a state when it attempted to secede. Buchanan denied this power to the federal government, while Cass held different views. On the 20th of this same month Edwin M. Stanton was appointed attorney-general in place of Mr. Black. Three more changes occurred in the month of January, 1861. John A. Dix of New York was appointed to the treasury, and Joseph Holt made secretary of war in place of Mr. Floyd, who had resigned to participate in the attempt to secede from the Union. During that eventful winter Floyd was tried by a committee of the house for having aided secession by dispersing the army "into remote parts of the country, where the troops could not readily be conveyed to the Atlantic coast, and transferring from northern to southern arsenals 113,000 muskets," and for appropriating wrongly \$870,000 in bonds from the interior department. He was acquitted. The transfer of Mr. Holt to the war department necessitated the last change under President Buchanan. On the 12th of February, 1861, Horatio King was appointed postmaster-general in place of Holt.

Abraham Lincoln appointed his cabinet on the 5th of March. Secretary of state, William H. Seward; of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase; of war, Simon Cameron; of the navy, Gideon Welles; of the interior, Caleb B. Smith of Indiana. Montgomery Blair was made postmaster-general, and Edward Bates of Missouri attorney-general. Lincoln tried to conciliate the bitter feelings between the North and South in selecting his cabinet. One biographer of Lincoln says that Mr. Stephens would have been given a cabinet position except that Georgia was on the eve of seceding. The treasury was offered to Mr. Guthrie of Kentucky, but was declined. Likewise Mr. Gilmore of North Carolina would have doubtless had a cabinet position if his state had not been about to secede. Even in his own party the President did not hesitate to give places of great influence to his own rivals for political preferment. It will be remembered that Seward, Chase, Bates, and Cameron were presidential candidates at the Chicago convention.

There was some opposition to the appointments of Chase, Blair, and Welles, and in the case of Cameron and Smith it was charged that their appointments were due "to a bargain made at the Chicago convention" between their friends and those of Mr. Lincoln. To secure the appointment of Mr. Cameron, "it required a hard struggle to overcome Mr. Lin-

coln's scruples, and the whole force was necessarily mustered in order to accomplish it." Mr. Cameron remained in the cabinet only a short time. Two causes contributed to his appointment as minister to Russia, or rather, to his retirement from the cabinet. In his annual report, without consulting the President, he incorporated his own ideas on the best policy in regard to the slavery question. The views which he expressed did not meet the approval of Mr. Lincoln, and accordingly they were stricken out of the report. Then, too, Mr. Cameron was charged with corrupt complicity in certain army contracts, and was censured by a vote of the house.

On the 15th of January, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton was made secretary of war in place of Mr. Cameron. No further change occurred until the next January, when John P. Usher was appointed secretary of the interior in place of Mr. Smith, resigned, and T. J. Coffey was appointed attorney-general in place of Mr. Bates, resigned. Mr. Smith resigned to become United States circuit judge for Indiana, and Mr. Bates to return to his home in St. Louis. The next vacancy was caused by the resignation of Mr. Chase. His management of the finances had been most exemplary. Gideon Welles, in his series of articles in the *Galaxy*, says that Mr. Seward gave up all idea of competing with Lincoln for the presidential nomination in 1864, and was equally determined that Mr. Chase should not receive the nomination. The latter, it is thought, had a lingering hope that Mr. Lincoln would not yield to a re-nomination. But he gave up all presidential ideas and ambitions after his failure to get his native state, New Hampshire, or his adopted state, Ohio, to declare in his favor. The above disappointment, combined with a dispute over the appointment of an assistant treasurer at New York, caused his retirement from the cabinet. Mr. Chase had made a recommendation which did not meet with the approval of the President. The dispute was settled temporarily by the former incumbent remaining in office another quarter of a year. In the mean time Mr. Chase handed in his resignation, and "the announcement that it had been tendered and was accepted was a surprise to the friends of both and to the country." July 1, 1864, William Pitt Fessenden of Maine succeeded to the treasury.

On the 24th of September of this same year William Dennison of Ohio was made postmaster-general in place of Blair. The President and Mr. Blair had not been entirely in sympathy, and the minister's resignation was tendered to take effect at the discretion of Mr. Lincoln. It was accepted on the 23d of September. On the 2d of December, 1864, James Speed of Kentucky was appointed attorney-general, and upon the re-organization of the cabinet for a second term, the President appointed

Hugh McCulloch secretary of the treasury in place of William P. Fessenden, who had resigned for a seat in the senate.

Andrew Johnson became President the 15th of April, 1865, and retained the cabinet of President Lincoln. One month later James Harlan of Iowa was appointed secretary of the interior in place of John P. Usher, who had resigned to practice law as consulting attorney for the Union Pacific railroad. During July, 1866, several changes occurred. On the 23d Henry Stanbery became attorney-general in place of James Speed, who left the cabinet because of his disapproval of the President's policy. Two days later Alexander W. Randall of Wisconsin took the place of Postmaster-general Dennison. On the 27th O. H. Browning was appointed secretary of the interior in place of Mr. Harlan, who was elected to the senate.

The most interesting change during this administration was through the contest between the President and Edwin M. Stanton as to whether the latter should resign or the President retire to private life. The quarrel originated in a disagreement on the question of reconstruction. On the 5th of August, 1867, the President demanded Mr. Stanton's resignation, but the secretary refused until congress should assemble. Accordingly, the President suspended the secretary on the 12th of August, and appointed Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois secretary of the war department. When congress met Mr. Stanton was restored to the war department, January 14, 1868. On the 21st of the following month the President again notified the senate that Mr. Stanton was removed, but Stanton refused to resign, and the senate sustained him. Then the aggrieved became the aggressor, and the trial of impeachment of President Johnson was commenced. When the impeachment failed, Mr. Stanton retired from the cabinet. President Grant appointed Mr. Stanton judge of the Supreme Court December 20, 1869, an honor that came only four days before his death.

Upon the second suspension of Mr. Stanton in February, 1868, the President nominated Lorenzo Thomas of Delaware as secretary of war, but upon the final retirement of Mr. Stanton from the cabinet, in May, John M. Schofield of Illinois was assigned to the post. Another change due to this contest was the appointment of William M. Evarts of New York attorney-general in place of Mr. Stanbery, who had resigned in order to act as one of the attorneys for the President in the trial of impeachment. Afterwards the President nominated Mr. Stanbery for justice of the Supreme Court, but the senate rejected him.

General Grant's cabinet, as first announced, consisted of E. B. Washburne, secretary of state; A. T. Stewart, secretary of the treasury; A. E. Borie, secretary of the navy; J. D. Cox, secretary of the interior; John A.

J. Cresswell, postmaster-general; E. R. Hoar, attorney-general, and John M. Schofield, secretary of war under Johnson, who was continued in office until the 11th of March, when John A. Rawlins was appointed to the war department. A curious complication arose in the case of Mr. Stewart. The statute creating the treasury department forbade any one to hold the office who had claims against the government, and by reason of his business Mr. Stewart had large claims for rebates on duties paid, etc. Mr. Stewart had been confirmed before this technicality was raised, and accordingly the President sent a message to the senate formally calling their attention to the fact, suggesting that Mr. Stewart be specially exempted from the statute. A simpler solution of the matter, however, was adopted by Mr. Stewart. On the 9th of March he resigned. Two days later the President made George S. Boutwell secretary of the treasury, and on the same date appointed Hamilton Fish to the state department in place of Washburne, who, on account of ill health, was made minister to France.

The next change was on the 25th of June, 1869, when it was announced unexpectedly that Mr. Borie had resigned from the navy on account of overwork, and George M. Robeson was appointed secretary in his place. On the 6th of September Mr. Rawlins died, and General Wm. T. Sherman acted as secretary of the war department until the appointment of Wm. W. Belknap, October 25. No further changes were made until June 23, 1870, when Mr. Hoar resigned, and Amos T. Akerman was appointed attorney-general in his stead.

In November of this year, Columbus Delano of Ohio was appointed secretary of the interior in place of Mr. Cox, resigned. There was only one other change during Grant's first term. On the 14th of December, 1871, George H. Williams was made attorney-general in place of Akerman, who had been requested to resign by the President.

On the 4th of March, 1873, Secretary Boutwell tendered his resignation in writing, while the other ministers complied with that formality orally. Boutwell was the chosen senator from Massachusetts, and his resignation was accepted, but the others were reinstated in their former positions. On the 17th of March, William A. Richardson of Massachusetts was chosen secretary of the treasury in place of Mr. Boutwell, but he retired from the cabinet on the 2d of June the following year. His resignation was due to his selection as judge of the United States court of claims. Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky was then appointed to the treasury department. On the 24th of August, 1874, Marshall Jewell of Connecticut was appointed postmaster-general in place of Mr. Cresswell, who left the cabinet to practice law and attend to his private business. There was neither

political nor personal estrangement between him and the President. On the contrary, President Grant, in his letter accepting the resignation, said, "You are the last of the original members of the cabinet named by me as I was entering upon my present duties, and it makes me feel as if old associations were being broken up, that I had hoped might continue through my official life." On the 26th of April, Edwards Pierrepont of New York became attorney-general. On the 19th of October of the same year, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan became secretary of the interior in place of Columbus Delano, resigned.

The press and Professor O. C. Marsh, of Yale University, were chiefly instrumental in the retirement of Mr. Delano. The professor was desirous of making a geological exploration through the lands of Red Cloud, but that chief would only allow him to do so on condition that Mr. Marsh would promise to report to the "Great Father," the President, the mismanagement of Indian affairs, and carry samples of their poor rations to the President. Over the date of July 10, 1875, the professor addressed a long letter to the President, in which he stated the complaints of Red Cloud, alleging ten distinct and separate charges of gross fraud and general mismanagement of Indian affairs. These charges of fraud appeared in the daily papers as early as April preceding, although the formal letter of the professor to the President was not written until the following July, and it was on the 5th of July, five days before the letter of Professor Marsh, that Secretary Delano wrote his private letter of resignation. He based his resignation on his earnest desire to retire from public life and attend to his personal affairs. President Grant did not accept the resignation until the 22d of September, giving as his reason for the delay that he did not believe the charges made by "the public press." He characterized them as "persecution" of a man who, in his opinion, had never failed to perform every public trust confided to him with "ability and integrity." On the 18th of October the report of the Red Cloud investigating committee was made to the President. It exonerated Secretary Delano from blame, but recommended the dismissal of certain subordinate officials, and other reforms in the management of Indian affairs.

During the year 1876 there were several important changes in the cabinet. The daily papers of March 2 made charges against Secretary Belknap of accepting bribes for army contracts. He was summoned before a committee and admitted his guilt. He escaped impeachment on a technical point of constitutional law. The Constitution provides for the impeachment of a "President, Vice-President, and all civil officers." The senate decided that Belknap was no longer a civil officer, after his resigna-

tion, and consequently not liable to impeachment. March 8, Mr. Taft of Ohio became secretary of war. May 22 following, Mr. Taft was transferred to the office of attorney-general in place of Pierrepont, who was sent as minister to Great Britain, and James D. Cameron of Pennsylvania was given the war department. These changes were quite unexpected, and were made before any rumors of any intended change appeared in the newspapers. The next resignation was that of Mr. Bristow, which had its origin in an indictment of the President's private secretary, among others, for irregularities and corruption; and June 21, 1876, Lot M. Morrill of Maine was appointed to the treasury. It has been said of Secretary Bristow that his management of the treasury department afforded the world a "conspicuous example of official purity." The last change was that of Mr. Jewell. The President sent for him and "without preliminaries or explanations asked him for his resignation." James M. Tyner of Indiana was appointed in his place. Mr. Jewell had made a good postmaster-general, and the change was made more for political reasons than as any rebuke to the minister.

President Hayes did not appoint his ministers, with the exception of the secretary of the treasury, until the 12th of March. His cabinet consisted of Wm. M. Evarts, secretary of state; John Sherman, secretary of the treasury; George W. McCrary, secretary of war; Richard W. Thompson, secretary of the navy; Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior; David McKey, postmaster-general, and Charles Devens, attorney-general. Three changes occurred during this administration. Secretary McCrary resigned to become United States circuit judge, and in his place Alexander Ramsey, on the 10th of December, 1879, was appointed to the war department. August 25, 1880, Horace Maynard of Tennessee was appointed postmaster-general in place of McKey, who retired to become judge of the eastern and middle districts of Tennessee. The third and last resignation was that of Secretary Thompson, who preferred the chairmanship of the Panama Canal Company to a seat in the cabinet. Nathan Goff of West Virginia was appointed January 10, 1881, to his place in the navy.

President Garfield chose for his cabinet, on the 5th of March, James G. Blaine, secretary of state; Wm. Windom, secretary of the treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, secretary of war; Wm. L. Hunt, secretary of the navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, secretary of the interior; Thomas L. James, postmaster-general, and Wayne McVeagh, attorney-general.

President Arthur, upon his inauguration, invited Secretary Lincoln to remain in the war department. The other cabinet places were filled in the order named. October 27, 1881, Chas. J. Folger, secretary of the

treasury; December 12, 1881, F. T. Frelinghuysen, secretary of state; December 19, Benjamin H. Brewster, attorney-general; December 20, Timothy O. Howe, postmaster-general; April 1, 1882, Wm. E. Chandler, secretary of the navy, and April 6, Henry M. Teller, secretary of the interior. Mr. Howe died in March, 1883, and the President appointed Walter Q. Gresham postmaster-general on the 3d of April following. In September, 1884, Mr. Gresham was transferred to the treasury department in place of Secretary Folger, deceased. In October Frank Hatton became postmaster-general in place of Gresham. The last change was due to the resignation of Mr. Gresham and the appointment of Hugh McCulloch, secretary of the treasury, the 28th of October, 1884. Mr. Gresham left the cabinet to accept the position of circuit judge.

Upon the inauguration of President Cleveland the ministers appointed were: March 6, 1885, Thomas F. Bayard, secretary of state; Daniel Manning, secretary of the treasury; Wm. C. Endicott, secretary of war; Wm. C. Whitney, secretary of the navy; Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, secretary of the interior; Wm. F. Vilas, postmaster-general, and Augustus H. Garland, attorney-general. President Cleveland's cabinet was subjected to three changes; Mr. Manning was stricken with illness March 23, 1886. In June he offered to resign, but his resignation was not accepted, in hopes of his recovery, until the 14th of February following, to take effect on the 4th of March. In his place the President chose Chas. S. Fairchild secretary of the treasury. When Mr. Lamar was appointed justice of the Supreme Court, in January, 1887, Mr. Vilas was transferred to the interior department, and Don M. Dickinson was appointed postmaster-general in his place. At the close of President Cleveland's administration a new cabinet office was created. On the 9th of February, 1889, an act of congress was approved, making the department of agriculture an executive department. Norman J. Colman became the first secretary of agriculture, and held the office for about two weeks, when the present administration came into power. Such were the changes of a century in cabinet ministers.

Geo W. Barry

COLUMBUS EXPLAINING HIS THEORY OF A NEW WORLD

Our beautiful frontispiece this month is a fac-simile of a large, rare, and valuable picture, made by the queen's engraver from the celebrated painting of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., which aptly illustrates one of the most significant and important events in the checkered career of Columbus, and is greatly prized because of its bearing upon the coming fortunes of the New World. An ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida, stood in a secluded part of Andalusia, Spain, and one morning a stranger on foot, modestly dressed but of distinguished bearing, stopped at the gate of the institution, and requested of the porter some bread and water for a small boy he was leading by the hand.

While partaking of these quickly served refreshments, Marchena, the prior of the convent, chanced to pass that way, and entered into conversation with the stranger. Columbus (for it was the great navigator) was not slow in stating the particulars of his ambitions and disappointments, and the prior, who was a scholarly man of unusual information, invited him into the convent, and treated him with great respect. The more he talked with Columbus, the more profoundly was he impressed with the extraordinary character of the enterprise which his energetic guest was trying to accomplish, and of the grandeur of the outlook. The prior was a geographical student, and his attention had been more or less turned to nautical science, probably through his nearness to the little seaport of Palos, only about five miles distant, where nearly all the inhabitants were navigators, and making frequent voyages to the recently discovered islands and countries along the African coast.

He finally sent to Palos for the great physician, Garcia Fernandez, who came and was soon greatly interested in the marvelous scheme as explained by Columbus. When they found that he was on the point of abandoning Spain to seek patronage at the court of France, they called in other learned advisers, some of whom were veteran mariners living in Palos. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the head of a family of wealthy and experienced navigators of Palos, celebrated for their adventurous voyages, was enthusiastic as to the feasibility of the project of Columbus, and offered to bear the expenses of another application to the court of Spain. The prior requested Columbus to delay his journey, and having once been confessor to Queen

Isabella, he immediately wrote her a letter, which was sent by Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe, one of the most shrewd and important personages in the realm, and he was successful in placing the epistle in the queen's hands. She replied at once with a letter to the prior, summoning him to her court. This royal letter was carried back to the convent by the ambassador at the end of fourteen days, and the delight of the prior was so great that his mule was instantly saddled, and he departed privately before midnight, on his journey, to a conference with Isabella. On his arrival at court he was immediately admitted to her royal presence, and pleaded the cause of Columbus with great earnestness and power. He told Isabella that he had seen and talked with him, could vouch for his honorable motives, and for his professional and scientific knowledge. He believed him perfectly capable of conducting the novel enterprise, and he dwelt eloquently upon the advantages of success, and the glory it would shed upon the Spanish crown. These were probably the first really convincing arguments the queen had heard. One of her favorites, the Marchioness of Moya, was captivated with the idea, and warmly seconded the plea of the prior. The queen hesitated, then grew more and more interested in the bold project, and finally requested that Columbus might again come to her, at the same time ordering money sent him for his traveling expenses—to provide a mule on which to ride, and a new and respectable costume in which to appear among the proud courtiers.

The joy of the prior may be imagined as he moved slowly homeward on the back of his unappreciative donkey, who could not be spurred into any extra celerity, not even with the discovery of a vast continent beckoning him on or kicking at his sides. Columbus, waiting at the convent, was once more inspired with hope and courage to persevere in his lofty purpose, and as soon as convenient repaired to the military city or royal camp before Granada, and reached there just in time to witness the memorable surrender of Granada to the Spaniards. He saw the gorgeous spectacle of the king and queen, with all the chivalry and rank and magnificence of Spain, move forward in proud and solemn procession to receive the keys of the Alhambra from the last of the Moorish kings.

We know that success for Columbus did not follow immediately. That the royal finances had been drained by the war. That the King of Spain was not gracious, and regarded the affair with coldness. That many of the courtiers ridiculed Columbus, called him a romancer, and some went so far as to hint that he was a madman. That his conditions were surprisingly high-toned and exacting. Isabella was generous, but she heard all this as well as what was urged in his favor, and became

timid. Finally her spirit rose above every obstacle, and she heroically exclaimed, "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and I will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." Thus she created for herself that renown which is cherished by the whole civilized world.

Juan Perez de Marchena, the prior of the convent of La Rabida, was one of the very few who contributed effectively toward the grand result, and of whom Columbus always spoke in after life in terms of warmest gratitude. It is said that the good prior assumed charge of the maintenance and education of the young son of Columbus. The chief particulars of the visit of Columbus to the monastery came through the testimony (which exists in manuscript) of Garcia Fernandez, the learned Palos physician who was summoned to the conference, as given in the lawsuit between Diego, the son of Columbus, and the crown.

The painting of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., was produced after his return from a long visit in Spain, and was first exhibited in London in 1835. He had been studying the works of Velasquez and Murillo, and it was generally conceded that the figures in this picture of Columbus at the convent partook largely of the influence of those great masters. Dr. Waagen called the painting a masterpiece, and said: "In truth, with the masses of deep chiaroscuro, the warm, full tones, and the broad treatment, it gives the impression of an old picture."

This skilled and distinguished artist was born in 1785, and from the cradle to the grave seems literally to have cared for nothing but the production of pictures. He could draw before he could read, and tried to paint before he could spell. His infantile pastimes were scratching portraits of his mother and nurse on the floor. When six years old he was sent to school, and his principal occupation was in making profiles and portraits of his schoolfellows, which they bought of him for marbles or pencils. It was in 1806, at the age of twenty, that he made his first success with the picture of "The Village Politicians." He was then a student at the Academy. He exhibited it with reluctance, as he had no faith in its merits. The academicians were delighted, and hung it on the chimney, "the best place for a fine picture." The next day it was reviewed by the critics. Haydon says that he read in the *News*, "a young man by the name of Wilkie, a Scotchman, has very extraordinary work." He was delighted, and adds, "I hurried over my breakfast, rushed away, met Jackson, who joined me, and we both bolted into Wilkie's room. I roared out, 'Wilkie, my boy, your name is in the paper!' 'Is it real-ly?' said David. I read the puff aloud; we huzzaed, and, taking hands, all three danced round the table until we were tired."

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW ON WASHINGTON IRVING

There is nothing so inspires the American to the manor born as the name of Washington Irving. It makes no difference whether he was born in New York state, or in regions that were unknown wildernesses when Irving lived and wrote; he represents to us the first breaking from the chrysalis of that literature which is destined in time to be dominant among the literatures of the world. He owed his distinction to heredity and to accident. We are living in a time when the peculiarities of mental forces are being intently studied. The mind-reader comes to the front; he may be a charlatan of to-day or the philosopher of to-morrow. He may be a charlatan, but some of his workings are beyond explanation, or as wonderful in their exposure as in their deception. He professes to look into our minds. Whether he does or not we do not know, as far as we are concerned, but we see extraordinary results that we cannot explain so far, or understand. And looking through these things, I, the most practical of men, engaged in the most practical of occupations, have come to the conclusion that in the development of the mind and the growth of the moral and nervous forces, we may reach a point, and things may be accomplished, which now seem impossible. But I believe that great minds and great geniuses are largely the results of accident, and that thousands die out in darkness because the accident has not occurred—the opportunity has not been presented. Take Washington Irving. His life was to be devoted to mercantile pursuits, and if a little accident had not occurred to him in his earliest childhood, I believe that his life would have followed out the incidents of his heredity—that he would have dickered and traded all his days. But while an infant in his nurse's arms on Broadway, during the passing of what would have been in old Roman times a triumphal procession, indicating the resurrection of the Republic, the Father of his Country placed his hands upon his head and gave him his blessing. After that time it was simply impossible for Washington Irving to follow out the instincts of his heredity, and to live simply for making money. He felt the touch of those baptismal hands upon his head in early youth inspiring him to something greater, grander, brighter, more universal than trade or commerce. In other words, they touched the internal sources of the fire of genius that might otherwise have remained hidden. This is no fancy picture, no phantasy of theory.—*Orations and After-Dinner Speeches.*

MINOR TOPICS

GLIMPSES OF THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA

One of the ablest descriptive writers of the day is Mr. Henry Drummond, whose scientific explorations in the dark continent are tersely generalized in his little volume entitled *Tropical Africa*. He says: "There is absolutely no law in Central Africa. You can kill anybody, and anybody can kill you, and no one will ask any questions." He has an impressive way of placing Africa before the reader, as if its whole area could be seen spread out within the range of vision. He shows that Africa, on each side of its triangular shape, is pierced by a great river—the Nile on the north, the Congo on the west, and the Zambesi on the east. There are great lakes in East Central Africa, three hundred and fifty and four hundred and fifty miles long. While Central Africa has no roads, an immense network of trails is spread over the whole region. "Probably no country in the world, civilized or uncivilized, is better supplied with paths than this unmapped continent. Every village is connected with some other village, every tribe with the next tribe, every state with its neighbor, and therefore with all the rest." In a general way these trails are very direct, though they go around all such obstructions as a fallen tree. The native tracks are the same all over Africa, "never over a foot in breadth, beaten as hard as adamant, and rutted beneath the level of the forest bed by centuries of native traffic." If a stone is in the way, "generations after generations of men have passed that stone, and it still waits for a man with an altruistic idea." Through these little detours the distance between two points is usually increased a fourth or a half.

Speaking of the native, Mr. Drummond says: "He is apparently quite happy; he has practically no wants. One stick pointed makes him a spear; two sticks rubbed together make him a fire; fifty sticks tied together make him a house; the bark he peels from them makes his clothes; the fruit which hangs on them forms his food. It is perfectly astonishing, when one thinks of it, what Nature can do for the animal man, to see with what small capital after all a human being can get through the world. I once saw an African buried. According to the customs of his tribe, his entire earthly possessions—and he was an average commoner—were buried with him. Into the grave, after the body, was lowered the dead man's pipe, then a rough knife, then a mud bowl, and last his bow and arrows—the bow-string cut through the middle, a touching symbol that its work was done. This was all. Four items, as an auctioneer would say, were the whole belongings for half a century of this human being. No man knows what a man is till he has seen what a man can be without, and be withal a man. That is to say, no man knows how great man

is till he has seen how small he has once been. The African is often blamed for being lazy, but it is a misuse of words. He does not need to work ; with so bountiful a nature round him, it would be gratuitous to work. And his indolence, therefore, as it is called, is as much a part of himself as his flat nose, and as little blameworthy as slowness in a tortoise. The fact is, Africa is a nation of the unemployed."

Mr. Drummond often wished that he could be an African for a short time, just to experience the working of the native mind. He says the Africans of the highlands are not black, but brown, the color of a good cigar. Their origin is obscure and their many languages are unintelligible. A fine-looking people, quiet and domestic, their life history from the cradle to the grave is of the utmost simplicity. Too ill-armed to hunt, they live all but exclusively on a vegetable diet. A small part of the year they depend, like the monkeys, upon wild fruits and herbs ; but the staple food is a small, tasteless millet seed, which they grow in gardens, crush in a mortar, and stir with water into a thick porridge. Some Europeans in the interior are now raising coffee in a small way. They have succeeded well in growing wheat, sugar-cane, potatoes and other vegetables, the manual work being done entirely by natives. The Africans labor satisfactorily after a little training. Mr. Drummond says of the great dark continent, that it now has an impossible access, a penniless people, an undeveloped soil. So once had England. But that "there is nothing in the soil, the products, the climate, or the people of Africa to forbid its journey, even at this late day, in the great march of civilization."

WORK OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This well-known organization has held interesting fortnightly club meetings during the season, and on each occasion a paper on some appropriate subject has been presented. On March 24 the Hon. David F. Day gave a memorial sketch of the late Judge George W. Clinton, son of the celebrated De Witt Clinton, whose sudden death occurred September 7, 1885, as he was strolling in the rural cemetery at Albany. The memorialist was the best man for the task who could have been found. The paper was much more than a sketch of Judge Clinton's life, though as a biography it was full, fair, and picturesquely interesting. It was especially, however, in its estimate of Judge Clinton's characteristics as a man that its peculiar value lay. Mr. Day was not only well able to estimate Judge Clinton's qualifications and achievements in the legal profession and as a jurist, but more than any other member of the society was he able to dwell appreciatively on the deceased's life-long devotion to nature and his services to science. The tribute was wholly sympathetic.

Mr. Cyrus K. Remington of the Buffalo Historical Society has started a subscription for the erection of a monument on the American bank of the Niagara,

between Buffalo and La Salle, to mark the spot where La Salle is supposed to have built the *Griffon*, the first craft in which white men sailed the upper lakes. This project has reawakened the ancient discussion as to the exact site. It was the late Orsamus H. Marshall who first approximately fixed it near the mouth of Cayuga creek. Mr. Remington believes he has found the exact spot, a few hundred rods south of the creek, on a narrow channel of the Niagara, separated from the main stream by Cayuga island. If the monument is erected here, it will be in plain sight of passing travelers on two railroads, between Buffalo and Niagara Falls.

This society has again taken up the delayed project of a monument to Red Jacket, whose bones were reinterred in Forest Lawn cemetery, Buffalo, a few years ago. Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse of New York city, who is a member of the Buffalo society, has secured several thousand dollars in subscriptions, and hopes to secure from interested persons not alone in Buffalo, but in New York city, Albany, and elsewhere, the full \$12,500 called for by the plans submitted by the New York sculptor, Mr. James E. Kelly. These plans provide an unhewn granite boulder surmounted by the dead and broken trunk of a tree, with bas-reliefs, totems, and other emblems, all in bronze. The whole symbolizes the decay and disappearance of the Iroquois federation, and in main part was suggested to the sculptor by General Ely S. Parker of New York city, the foremost Seneca Indian now living.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE

QUAINT DESCRIPTION OF NEW YORK AND ALBANY IN 1772

FROM A "GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL GRAMMAR," PUBLISHED IN LONDON

New York, the capital, lies at the south end of Manaton isle, now York isle; its situation is well fitted for trade, standing upon a point formed by two bays, into one of which the river Hudson discharges itself. The streets, which do not run straight, nor parallel to one another, on account of the ground being uneven, are spacious, well built, in most places paved, and planted with rows of trees which afford an agreeable shade in the summer. Most of the houses are very neat, built of brick, and flat-roofed, where people amuse themselves in the warm evenings with the beautiful prospect the situation of the town affords. Here is good water and several markets, which are plentifully supplied by the country people twice a week. The city is above a mile long, and about one-third of a mile broad, on a mean; and is supposed to contain 14,000 inhabitants. The island is about twelve miles long, near three broad, and is the county of York. At the southern point of this island, just without the town, is Fort George, which defends the harbour and town to the seaward, and contains a handsome mansion for the governor. The town has a college for the study of polite literature, and eighteen places of

public worship for the several denominations of the religions of its inhabitants, every sect being tolerated in this place.

Albany lies about 140 miles to the northward of New York, stands on the declivity of a hill, and extends along the western side of the river Hudson, which is here from twelve to twenty feet deep ; and is defended by a fort standing on a steep hill westward of the town. The houses are very neat, partly built of stone, and covered with slate or with shingle, a thin board ; but the streets, although broad, are not very clean, as the cattle are brought into town every night for security. Professor Kalm, in his Travels, says the inhabitants of this place, and its environs, are mostly Dutch ; speak that language, have Dutch manners and preachers ; and, as he describes them, are far from being an amiable people.

(Contributed by)

JAMES E. COLEY

WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT.

DUEL OF BUTTON GWINNETT, THE SIGNER

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, *March 31, 1890.*

Editor of Magazine of American History :

To the November, 1884, number of the *Magazine of American History*, I had the pleasure of contributing an article on Button Gwinnett. In alluding to the duel between that Signer and General Lachlan McIntosh, I stated that both were wounded in the thigh : McIntosh dangerously, and Gwinnett mortally. The former was confined to his couch for some time ; and the latter, after lingering for twelve days, died of his hurt.

In the light of trustworthy information acquired since that article was penned, I desire now to say, that the duel was fought on Friday, the 16th of May, 1777. The principals were placed in position only ten or twelve feet apart. Their pistols were simultaneously discharged. Each party was wounded in the thigh. Mr. Gwinnett's thigh was broken, and he fell. General McIntosh then inquired if he desired another shot. "Yes," responded Gwinnett, "if I am helped up." The seconds interfered, however, and the proceeding was stopped at this point. The weather was hot, and Gwinnett languished until the following Monday morning, when he expired.

Very respectfully and truly your obedient servant,

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THREE INTERESTING LETTERS FROM WASHINGTON'S
SECRETARY, IN 1775

ADDRESSED TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM BARTLETT

[Contributed by Charles W. Super of Ohio University]

(FIRST LETTER)

CAMBRIDGE, 15th November, 1775.

Sir:—As the goods on board the schooner from Ireland, must, at all events, be sold at vendue, I must request the favor of you to purchase for me all the claret on board, if you can purchase it on reasonable terms. And for its amount, your commission, etc., you will please to draw on me and your bill will meet all punctual honor.

As it is a liquor not much used in this country, it will probably sell cheap. Your keeping your intention of purchasing the whole to yourself, will contribute much thereto. Should you have occasion for a part of it for yourself, you will by all means keep whatever you want.

I am with great regard Sir, Your most obedient servant

STEPHEN NOYLAN.

Note:—General Putnam is present, and as he is to have a part of the claret, he desires his compliments to you.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BARTLETT, in Beverly.

(SECOND LETTER)

CAMBRIDGE, 2nd. Dec., 1775.

Sir:—It being now under consideration of Congress, the mode of disposing of such vessels and crews as are taken supplying the enemy, it is his Excellency's pleasure that Captain Hunter and his crew return to you, that their private adventure be given to them with liberty to dispose thereof as they think proper, that they be treated with all humanity, due to fellow citizens in distress.

If you think proper you may let them live on board the vessel until further orders. Your attention and activity gives much pleasure to the general, which he desires me to inform you of.

I am, with great regard, Sir, Your most obedient servant,

STEPHEN NOYLAN.

WILLIAM BARTLETT, Esq., and CAPTAIN JOHN GLOVER,
Agents for the Brigantine *Nancy*, at Beverly or Gloucester.

(THIRD LETTER)

CAMBRIDGE, 10th *December*, 1775.

Sir:—Your agreeable favor to his Excellency came last night to hand. It was very unlucky that the Captain of the ship threw his papers overboard. He deserves to be severely punished if it is true that this was done after he was made a prize of. In any other war than the present, he would suffer death for such an action. But we must show him and such who fall into our hands that Americans are humane as well as brave. You will therefore, sir, treat the prisoners with all possible tenderness.

There are on board a vessel from Antigua two gentlemen passengers, Mr. John Burke and Mr. Gregory. The former is strongly recommended to our good friends in Boston. Although not friendly to American liberty he still has a character of a gentleman, as such it is the general's orders that he be treated. The other was going to serve on board a man of war. You will offer these gentlemen a parole agreeably to the enclosed sketch, which I suppose they will not object to. If they should, you must send them to head quarters. The captains of both vessels had best remain with you, and if you think fit, they may remain on board their vessels until further orders. But do not run the least risk of their doing mischief by so many being together. If any way apprehensive of them let them be sent to some inland town in your neighborhood recommended to the care of the committee of safety, who must provide them with necessaries, for which they will be paid. Should they be disposed of in this last manner, get the captains to sign paroles for themselves and their crews, a copy of which you will transmit to the committee of safety to whose care they are sent and mention to the committee that they be treated with humanity.

There are limes, lemons, and oranges on board, which being perishable, you must sell immediately. The general will want some of each as well as the sweet meats and pickles that are on board as his lady will be here this day or tomorrow. You will please pick up such things on board as you think will be acceptable to her and send them as soon as possible. He does not mean to receive anything without payment, which you will please to attend to.

The general is informed that the prizes are crowded with people from the shore as well as those belonging to the armed schooners. It is his positive command that no one be suffered to come on board any of them, the officers and agents excepted, that embezzlement be particularly guarded against. If any should happen, the agents will be blamed and held accountable, so you will see the necessity of being strict in enforcing this order.

Pray when are you to send the porter, etc? We want it much.

I am with great regard, Sir, your most obedient servant,

STEPHEN NOYLAN.

WILLIAM BARTLETT, Esq.

NOTES

GENEALOGY OF A CANE—General Meredith Read, now residing in Paris, has a very unique and valuable collection of canes, among which is one of peculiar interest bearing the following inscription: "This was the favorite walking stick of Alexander Pope, the poet (born 22d May, 1688, died 30th May, 1740). Pope presented it to Dr. Samuel Johnson (born 18th Sept., 1709, died 13th Dec., 1784) after the latter's Latin translation of Pope's *Messiah*. Dr. Johnson gave it to Major Toovey of Joyce Grove, Nettlebed, Oxon, to whom he was under obligations. Major Toovey offered it to his neighbour and dearest friend John Reade, Esqre., of Ipsden House, Oxon (born 25th Nov., 1775, died 25th Oct., 1849), who willed it to his daughter Miss Eleanor Reade, who bequeathed it to her brother Charles Reade, D. C. L., the famous novelist (born 8th June, 1814, died 11th April, 1884), who left it to Charles Liston Reade, Esqre., who sent it to his kinsman General Meredith Read the 8th September, 1889. Pope being deformed and infirm was accustomed to lean upon this stick with both hands."

BISMARCK—Ex-President Andrew D. White says: "The greatness of Bismarck no one can dispute. To compare the work of Metternich with his is strictly absurd. Metternich ran counter to the main ideas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while Bismarck went with them, and was, as it were, the incarnation of them. It is a curious fact that men whose political theories are entirely at variance on almost any point with

those of Bismarck, and who hated him as the representative of the idea of a strong semi-despotic government as compared to the constitutional view, become his most ardent admirers and supporters. They saw that he was first of all for the unity of Germany, which was a condition precedent to liberty or any political greatness of Germany. Nor is he to be compared to Stein; each was great in his way. In his own way Stein was a greater man than Bismarck, since he had an insight into the course necessary to pursue for developing the resources of Germany which Bismarck never has shown. Bismarck has been rather a great born leader of men, at times almost a desperado, risking almost too much; but he has always shown an amazing intuition or inspiration as regards the true course to be pursued with foreign nations."

EARLIEST MAPS OF IOWA—It is an interesting item worthy of preservation, which Professor T. S. Parvin furnishes, that: "On the 5th of December, 1838, Mr. L. Judson submitted to the council a communication in which he proposed to provide the Hon. House with fifty maps of the territory of Iowa put up in book covers, three put up on canvas, and two on silk paper. His proposition was accepted in part, and he provided thirteen in the pocket book form, three on canvas with rollers, and two on silk paper. We secured then and there one on paper, and had it mounted. This is in fact the first map of Iowa published after the organization of the territory, and hence has much historic value."

The next year, 1839, a little volume of *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin* was published by John Plumb, Jr., accompanied by another map of Iowa, exhibiting all the counties and townships in the surveyed portion. The most accurate and trustworthy map, however, was issued in 1880, in a volume by Jesse Williams, the map being a literal translation, Professor Parvin says, "from the original records and plats in the office of the surveyor-general of the territory. The township in which Iowa City, the new capital, was located, had been specially surveyed by the government officials that its lands might be brought into the market and sold." An interesting list of information is contained in the following paragraph: "Mr. Lea laid out and owned the town site of Iowa, at the mouth of Pine Creek—which he called river: hence the extravagant terms in

which he speaks of that town, where there was not more than one small farmhouse, though when we drove through it in August, 1838, on a return trip from Davenport to Burlington, the stakes were as thick as stumps in a clearing in the forests of Ohio."

EDUCATIONAL ITEM—The Bryant school, a flourishing institution at Roslyn, Long Island, New York, one of the prettiest villages near New York city, makes a very kind offer to the children of missionaries. It will educate them as far as the close of the sophomore year (so that they can enter the junior class at college) at half price. In case of a few ministers who, on account of small salary, may be unable to educate their children, the same privilege will be extended. To such persons, a beautiful illustrated catalogue will be sent free.

QUERIES

RACE OF CONVICTS—What noted English author applied these words in 1775 to the rebellious American colonists: "Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging"?

D. W. M.

LEXINGTON, MASS.

THE ISLAND OF SEVEN CITIES—What is the legend of "the mysterious island of seven cities"? Were navigators who visited it always detained upon its

shores? In what part of the world was it located?

AMOS TRUMBULL

CHARLES, DUKE OF ENGELHEIM—John Burke, Esq., in his *History of the Commoners of England*, and John Bernard Burke, Esq., in *The Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales*, mention, as an ancestor of several high families in England, "Charles, Duke of Engelheim, fifth son of Charlemagne." The writer cannot find this son mentioned in history. Had Charlemagne such a son?

GENEALOGIST

REPLIES

COURT OF ST. JAMES [xxiii., 345]—Replying to the question of your correspondent, William Krause, I give the following: Whitehall palace was the official residence of the British monarchs from Henry VIII. to William III. It was destroyed by fire, all except the banqueting house, which is now the chapel royal. After the burning of Whitehall, St. James's palace became the official residence until the occupation of Buckingham palace by Queen Victoria. The court was held here, and here all foreign ministers were officially received. Hence it is called "The Court of St. James." Services are still held in St. James by the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Queen. MARCUS J. WRIGHT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"THE COURT OF ST. JAMES" is so called from the palace of St. James, erected, 1530-36, by Henry VIII. on the site of a hospital of the same name. This palace has been the official residence of the English government since the fire at Whitehall in 1698.

S. C. DERBY

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

UNIVERSITIES OF THE WORLD [xxiii., 345]—In reply to the inquiry for the number of colleges, professors, and students in South America, Asia, Africa, and Australasia, I enclose some statistics with dates. No later official reports have been published to which I have access. Since those dates there have been a few missionary colleges established.

SOUTH AMERICA.—Argentine Republic, 1884. 2 universities, 66 professors,

904 students; 1 military college, 22 professors, 121 students; 14 national colleges, 282 professors, 106 assistants, 1,436 students.

Bolivia, 1877. 3 universities.

Brazil, 1877. None.

Chili, 1880. 1 university, 724 students.

British Columbia, 1877. 6 colleges.

Ecuador, 1877. None.

Paraguay, 1877. None.

Peru, 1877. 5 universities.

Uruguay, 1877. 2 colleges (Montevideo), 5 to 7 professors.

Venezuela, 1874. 2 universities, 31 professors, 315 students.

AUSTRALASIA.—New South Wales, 1874. University at Sydney, 45 students. 1876, St. Paul's college, 12 students; St. John's college, 4 students.

South Australia, 1884-85. 1 training college.

Victoria, 1874. University at Melbourne, 122 students. 1882, 397 students. 1876, 7 colleges, 77 professors, 1,162 students.

Queensland, 1876. None.

West Australia, 1876. None.

Tasmania, 1876. None.

New Zealand, 1884-85. 4 universities. 1876, 4 colleges and grammar schools, 498 students.

ASIA.—India, 1877. 3 universities. 1857, 1860, 1866, and 1871, 9,221 candidates, 3,990 passed. 1881-82, 1,374 candidates for matriculate examination, 388 passed; 643 candidates for degree examination, 221 passed. 1881, 3 universities, 2,904 students. Nine provinces and two states; several colleges, 5,620 students.

Bombay Presidency, 1884-85. 802 students.

Burmah, 1884-85. Rangoon college, 18 students.

Ceylon. Batticotta (missionary) college, 1878. 1 pali college, 18 students.

China, 1877. None.

Japan, 1877. Imperial university at Tokio, 20 professors, 350 students.

Turkey. 1 college.

Arabia. None.

Syria, 1878. 1 college.

Persia. Several colleges or high schools in the principal cities, on the European plan. Government college is at Teheran. Shiraz has ten colleges, but the most extensive one is at Ispahan.

AFRICA.—Egypt, 1877. University at Cairo, 260 professors, 9,668 students. At the time of its greatest prosperity it numbered more than 20,000 students.

Cape Colony, 1884-85. 5 colleges and institutions for higher and professional education, 315 students.

Morocco. 1 university.

Algeria. 4 colleges.

Liberia. 1 college.

NORTH AMERICA.—

Columbia, 1877. None.

Manitoba, 1877. 3 colleges.

New Brunswick. 2 universities.

Newfoundland. 1 college.

Nova Scotia. 5 colleges. 1875, King's college, 5 professors. Dalhousie college, 6 professors.

Ontario. 6 universities. 1878, Victoria university, 6 professors, 128 students. 1884-85, University of Toronto, 170 students.

Prince Edward's Island, 1877. 2 colleges.

Quebec, 1877. 3 universities. 1873, 38 professors, 475 students.

Mexico, 1874. 1 university, 54 colleges, 9,337 students.

CENTRAL AMERICA.—Costa Rica, 1877. 1 university, 6 professors, 100 students.

Guatemala. 1 university, 3 colleges.

Honduras. 2 universities.

Nicaragua. 2 universities.

San Salvador. 1 university.

WEST INDIES.—Cuba. University of Havana. No official information obtainable.

Hayti, 1887. None.

Jamaica. 1 female training college.

San Domingo, 1887. None.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.—2 colleges. 1887, Oahu college (American missionary), 75 students. 1872, Lahainaluna college for native males, 103 students.

MURRAY EDWARD POOLE

ITHACA, NEW YORK.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for April was held on Tuesday evening, the first instant. The paper of the evening was read by the Rev. B. F. DeCosta, D.D., on "The Discovery of America by the Welsh." After speaking of the very great deficiencies of the public libraries of New York, which do not afford the needed facilities for an investigation of this kind, Dr. DeCosta said it was gratifying to be able to come to the subject at a time when fairness was more and more prevailing, and at a time when the previous discoveries by the Northmen were generally recognized, Mr. Bancroft even having expunged his objections to the Sagas from the latest edition of his history. Now it was the turn of the Welsh to pass under review, and Humboldt was quoted, where he expresses the hope, in his *Cosmos*, that the maritime adventures of the Middle Ages might be re-examined and studied in the light of recently discovered facts. The speaker had to regret that the subject of the voyages of Madoc had suffered so much, both from an incompetent advocacy and ignorant and prejudiced denial. He then went on to give proofs of the voyages of the Welsh to a land beyond the western ocean, and probably New England, in the twelfth century. These proofs were both pre- and post-Columbian, being taken from bards and chronicles. Of the former he gave some account, showing the historic work actually done by them. The pre-Columbian testimonies to the voyage of Madoc began with Llywarch ab Llywellen, who

flourished at the close of the twelfth century, ending with Brecva and Guttyn Owain, the latter writing some time before Columbus made his voyage. Of the post-Columbian writers he quoted Powell, 1584, and Herbert, 1634. The pre-Columbian writers showed distinctly (1) that Madoc was a well-known person, son of the Prince of Wales, (2) that he was a sailor, (3) that he made voyages westward on the Atlantic, (4) that on his return from a certain voyage he went westward again with a fresh expedition of ten ships and three hundred men. From this voyage he never returned. For the post-Columbians, Powell, depending upon Guttyn, showed that "they left the coast of Ireland so far north that they came to an unknown country;" while Herbert showed that they sailed from Abergwilly, and that in the new land, on his first voyage, Madoc built a fort and left in it one hundred and twenty men. Herbert had the advantage of the finest collection of ancient Welsh manuscripts ever brought together—that of the Earl of Pembroke in Raglan castle—which was destroyed during the Cromwellian wars. It was shown that no reasonable doubt existed with regard to the truthfulness of Powell and Herbert, both of whom were not only scholars and antiquaries, but men of unimpeachable character. For the sake of the argument, however, the lecturer was willing to drop the testimony of the post-Columbian writers, and rely upon those who wrote before the time of the Genoese, which was testimony that would stand in any court. With the subject of

the alleged traces of Madoc's descendants among the Indians the lecturer did not deal, simply referring to the facts about the Mandan Indians, who had Welsh coracles, as awkward for the eulogist of Columbus, who felt that he could not conduct his campaign without throwing mud at the predecessors of Columbus. The speaker did not wish to detract from the deserved fame of the Genoese, but would do justice to the Welsh, and present their claims to investigators of the history of pre-Columbian America.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

—Since May, 1889, the following papers have been read before this society: "Rochester in Ancient History," a review of the comments made by the earliest visitors, by Jane Marsh Parker; "A Catalogue of the Inventions made since the Settlement of Rochester in 1812," by Henry E. Rochester; "Poetical Tribute to the Memory of the Hon. H. E. Rochester," "Memorial of the Hon. H. E. Rochester," by Judge Angle; "The Aboriginal History of the Genesee Country, and its Terminology," by G. H. Harris; "Pioneers of the Genesee Valley—the Marchams," by G. H. Harris; "An Epitome of a Work on Colonial Laws published in 1664," by Judge Angle. In December, 1889, was read the "Report of the Committee on Perpetuating the name of Carroll, one of the original owners of the One Hundred Acre Tract" (Rochester), and a poem by Mrs. Dowling; also a "Biographical sketch of the Hon. H. E. Peck, United States minister to Hayti," by Mrs. Parker; in January, 1890, "Reminis-

cences of Rochester from 1812 to 1830," by the Rev. F. D. Ward, D.D., of Genesee; in February, "The Public Schools of Rochester," by S. A. Ellis; in March, "Dr. Dewey," a biographical sketch, by Mrs. C. M. Curtis, "Music in Rochester," by Prof. H. D. Wilkins; and at the recent April meeting, "Antiquities of Mount Hope," by Judge Angle, and "The Last Indian Sacrifice," by Mrs. Terry.

When the Rochester society publishes its papers, its corresponding secretary can respond to the many requests for an exchange of documents.

THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

held its regular meeting on the 4th of March, which was largely attended. Vice-President Stedman introduced Mr. Henry F. Waters, who for an hour held the close attention of the audience. He commenced with a general talk on the causes which led him to engage in the search for American pedigrees in English records; of the numerous courts and repositories of documents, and of the methods necessary to obtain access to them. Then in a characteristically modest way he proceeded to give an account of some of his remarkable searches and finds. The first of importance being the ancestry of John Harvard, with few and blind clues, followed with a true genealogist's or detective's instinct, he was able to solve the riddle and give to the world in print the English home and ancestry of Harvard's benefactor. In looking up the ancestry of Roger Williams, Mr. Waters said he found so many of that name that at first he was unable to decide what clue to

follow. He said he was usually disinclined to accept tradition, but in this case he thinks tradition is right and that Roger Williams came from Wales.

At the regular meeting of the society, April 1, one of the most entertaining papers ever given before the society was read by the Rev. E. F. Atwood of Bloomfield, on Philo Penfield Stewart, inventor of the Stewart stove (and therefore of all modern cooking-stoves, they being derived from that by purchase, theft, suggestion, or lapse), and one of the two founders of Oberlin college. The lecturer, himself an Oberlin man, rose to his finest pitch of eloquence in a just and enthusiastic description of the development and work of Oberlin college.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting on the 12th of March, General Rogers in the chair. The paper of the evening was read by Rev. James G. Vose, D.D., on the "History of Milton, Massachusetts." Speaking of the great importance and interest of the history of the early New England towns, he said Milton was the home of his ancestors for several generations. The territory of Milton had been remarkable from the earliest settlement of New England. Less than a year after our fathers landed at Plymouth, Miles Standish and his company were the first white men to look from the top of Milton hill. The paper was one of very great interest. On the 26th of March the society again assembled, and Judge George Moulton Carpenter read a paper on the "Reform of the Civil Service considered from a Party Stand-

point." In introducing the lecturer, President Rogers said he considered it proper and convenient that the society should consider not only the past but also the present history and future destiny of the nation, and it was therefore appropriate that some observations should be made upon the very important and much disputed questions involved in the pending reform of the civil service.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its monthly meeting March 20, at Columbia college, President John Jay in the chair. Hon. James W. Gerard of New York city read an able and interesting paper entitled "The Retribution of Louis XIV." The audience hall was filled with a brilliant and appreciative throng, and the speaker was applauded with enthusiasm. The annual meeting of the society was held on the afternoon of the 13th of April. Interesting reports were read by the secretary, the treasurer, and by the chairman of the library committee. The society has been very prosperous the past year, its membership has largely increased, and it has issued its first catalogue in handsome form of its valuable and interesting library. The officers were all re-elected for the ensuing year. President, Hon. John Jay; vice-presidents, Edward F. De Lancey, Chauncey M. Depew, Henry M. Lester, Hon. A. T. Clearwater, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Richard Olney, William Ely, Rev. D. D. Demorest, D.D., ex-Secretary Thomas F. Bayard, Joseph S. Perrot, and Daniel Ravenel; treasurer, P. W. Gallaudet; secretary, Banyer Clarkson.

HISTORIC AND LEARNED SOCIETIES IN UNITED STATES

We published for the public convenience in the month of August, 1884 [XII. 186], a list, numbering 111, of the historical societies of this country, carefully collated for our use by General Charles W. Darling, secretary of the Oneida Historical Society. We now present to our readers the list recently revised by General Darling for the American Historical Association, which, it will be observed, has, with its additional learned societies, increased to 209.

STATE.	NAME OF SOCIETY.	CITY.
Alabama	Alabama Historical Society	Tuscaloosa.
Arkansas	Arkansas Historical Society	Little Rock.
California	Historical Society of Southern California	Los Angeles.
California	Society of California Pioneers	San Francisco.
California	Territorial Pioneers of California	San Francisco.
California	California Historical Society	San Francisco.
Colorado	State Historical Society	Denver.
Connecticut	Connecticut Historical Society	Hartford.
Connecticut	New Haven Colony Historical Society	New Haven.
Connecticut	New London County Historical Society	New London.
Connecticut	Tolland County Historical Society	Tolland.
Connecticut	Saugatuck Historical Society	Westport.
Connecticut	Fairfield County Historical Society	Bridgeport.
Connecticut	Westport Historical Society	Westport.
Delaware	Delaware Historical Society	Wilmington.
District of Columbia	American Historical Association	Washington.
District of Columbia	Columbian Historical Society	Washington.
District of Columbia	Philosophical and Historical Society	Washington.
Florida	Historical Society of Florida	St. Augustine.
Georgia	Macon Public Library and Historical Association	Macon.
Georgia	Georgia Historical Society	Savannah.
Illinois	Chicago Historical Society	Chicago.
Illinois	Historical Society of Joliet	Joliet.
Illinois	Illinois State Historical Society	Springfield.
Indiana	Indiana Historical Society	Indianapolis.
Indiana	Historical Society of the County of Vigo	
Indiana	Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society	Vincennes.
Indiana	Madison County Historical Society	Anderson.
Indiana	Borden Institute Historical Society	New Providence.
Iowa	Academy of Natural Science	Davenport.
Iowa	Hawk Eye Pioneer Association of Louisa County	Wapello.
Iowa	Iowa State Historical Society	Iowa City.
Kansas	Kansas State Historical Society	Topeka.
Kansas	Marshall County Pioneer Association	
Kentucky	Kentucky Historical Society	Frankfort.
Kentucky	Historical and Scientific Society	Maysville.
Kentucky	Historical and Scientific Society of Mason County	
Kentucky	Historical Association of Filson Club	
Louisiana	Louisiana Historical Society	Louisville.
Maine	Bangor Historical Society	Baton Rouge.
Maine	Maine Historical Society	Bangor.
Maine	Gorges Society	Portland.
Maine	Maine Genealogical Society	Portland.
Maine	Sagadahoc Historical Society	Bath.

STATE.	NAME OF SOCIETY.	CITY.
Maine	York Institute	Saco.
Maine	Historical Society	York.
Maine	Maine Geological and Biographical Society	Portland.
Maryland	Maryland Historical Society, Johns Hopkins University.	Baltimore.
Maryland	German Historical Society	Baltimore.
Maryland	Anne Arundel Historical Society	Annapolis.
Maryland	Harford County Historical Society	Belair.
Massachusetts	Massachusetts Historical Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	Archæological Institute of America	Boston.
Massachusetts	New England Historic-Genealogical Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	Boston Numismatic Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	Webster Historical Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	Boston Memorial Association	Boston.
Massachusetts	Military Historical Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	Bostonian Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	Universalist Historical Society	College Hill.
Massachusetts	American Congregational Historical Society	Chelsea.
Massachusetts	Dedham Historical Society	Dedham.
Massachusetts	Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association	Deerfield.
Massachusetts	Dorchester Historical Society	Dorchester.
Massachusetts	Historical Society	Lexington.
Massachusetts	Old Residents' Historical Society	Lowell.
Massachusetts	New England Methodist Historical Society	Malden.
Massachusetts	Antiquarian and Historical Society	Newburyport.
Massachusetts	Pilgrim Society	Plymouth.
Massachusetts	Historical Society	Rehoboth.
Massachusetts	Essex Institute	Salem.
Massachusetts	Historical Society	South Natick.
Massachusetts	Old Colony Historical Society	Taunton.
Massachusetts	Weymouth Historical Society	Weymouth.
Massachusetts	Rumford Historical Society	Woburn.
Massachusetts	American Antiquarian Society	Worcester.
Massachusetts	Historical Society	Worcester.
Massachusetts	Dorchester Historical and Antiquarian Society	Dorchester.
Massachusetts	Society of Antiquity (T. Dickinson, Librarian)	Worcester.
Massachusetts	American Congregational Association	Boston.
Massachusetts	Historical Society of Watertown	Watertown.
Massachusetts	Boston Memorial Society	Boston.
Massachusetts	National Historical and Library Society	South Natick.
Massachusetts	Danvers Historical Society	Danvers.
Massachusetts	Old Residents' Historical Association	Lowell.
Massachusetts	Plymouth Society	Plymouth.
Massachusetts	Berkshire County Historical Society	Pittsfield.
Massachusetts	Weymouth Historical Society	Weymouth.
Michigan	Michigan State Pioneer Society	Lansing.
Michigan	Muskegon County Pioneer and Historical Society	Muskegon.
Michigan	Wayne County Pioneer Society	Detroit.
Michigan	Michigan Historical Society	Detroit.
Michigan	Pioneer Society	Detroit.
Michigan	Houghton County Historical Society	Houghton.
Michigan	Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan	Lansing.
Minnesota	Ortonville Historical Society	Ortonville.
Minnesota	Minnesota Historical Society	St. Paul.
Mississippi	Mississippi Historical Society	Jackson.
Missouri	Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis	St. Louis.
Missouri	Historical Society	St. Louis.
Montana	Historical Society	Helena.
Nebraska	Nebraska State Historical Society	Lincoln.

STATE.	NAME OF SOCIETY.	CITY.
Nebraska.....	Nebraska University Historical Association.....	
New Hampshire...	New Hampshire Historical Society.....	Concord.
New Hampshire...	New Hampshire Antiquarian Society...	Contoocook.
New Hampshire...	Nashua Historical Society.....	Nashua.
New Jersey.....	New Jersey Historical Society.....	Newark.
New Jersey.....	New Brunswick Historical Club.....	New Brunswick.
New Jersey.....	New England Society.....	Orange.
New Jersey.....	Passaic County Historical Society.....	Paterson.
New Jersey.....	Salem County Historical Society.....	Salem.
New Jersey.....	Vineland Historical Society.....	Vineland.
New Mexico.....	Historical Society of New Mexico.....	Santa Fé.
New York.....	Albany Institute.....	Albany.
New York.....	Cayuga County Historical Society.....	Auburn.
New York.....	Genesee County Pioneer Association.....	Batavia.
New York.....	Long Island Historical Society.....	Brooklyn.
New York.....	Buffalo Historical Society.....	Buffalo.
New York.....	Chautauqua Historical Society.....	Jamestown.
New York.....	Ulster County Historical Society.....	Kingston.
New York.....	Livingston County Historical Society.....	Mount Vernon.
New York.....	Minisink Valley Historical Society.....	Port Jervis.
New York.....	Historical Society of Newburg Bay.....	Newburg.
New York.....	American Archaeological Council.....	New York.
New York.....	American Ethnological Society.....	New York.
New York.....	American Geographical Society.....	New York.
New York.....	American Numismatical and Archaeological Society.....	New York.
New York.....	American Philological Society.....	New York.
New York.....	Genealogical and Biographical Society.....	New York.
New York.....	New York Historical Society.....	New York.
New York.....	Huguenot Society of America.....	New York.
New York.....	The Holland Society.....	New York.
New York.....	United States Catholic Historical Society.....	New York.
New York.....	New York Academy of Anthropology.....	New York.
New York.....	Historical and Forestry Society.....	Nyack.
New York.....	Onondaga Historical Society.....	Onondaga.
New York.....	Oneida Historical Society.....	Utica.
New York.....	Waterloo Historical Society.....	Waterloo.
New York.....	West Chester Historical Society.....	White Plains.
New York.....	Jefferson County Historical Society.....	Watertown.
New York.....	Rochester Historical Society.....	Rochester.
New York.....	Tarrytown Historical Society.....	Tarrytown.
New York.....	Mohawk Valley Historical Society.....	Baldwinsville.
New York.....	Onondaga Historical Society.....	Syracuse.
Ohio.....	Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.....	Cincinnati.
Ohio.....	Western Reserve and Northern Historical Society.....	Cincinnati.
Ohio.....	New England Society of Columbus.....	Cleveland.
Ohio.....	Licking County Pioneer Historical and Archaeological Society.....	Columbus.
Ohio.....	Western Ohio Pioneer Association.....	Newark.
Ohio.....	Firelands Historical Society.....	New Carlisle.
Ohio.....	Toledo Historical and Geographical Society.....	Norwalk.
Ohio.....	Maumee Valley Pioneer Association.....	Toledo.
Ohio.....	Society of Ex-Army and Naval Officers.....	Cincinnati.
Ohio.....	Ashtabula County Pioneer Association.....	Jefferson.
Ohio.....	American Pioneer Society.....	Cincinnati.
Ohio.....	German Pioneer Society.....	Cincinnati.
Ohio.....	Granville Historical Society.....	Granville.
Ohio.....	Pioneer Society.....	Madisonville.
Ohio.....	Geauga County Historical Society.....	

STATE.	NAME OF SOCIETY.	CITY.
Ohio.....	Mahoning Valley Historical Society.....	
Ohio.....	Pioneer Society.....	Marietta.
Ohio.....	Firelands Historical Society of Huron County.....	Peru.
Ohio.....	Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.....	Columbus.
Oregon.....	Pioneer and Historical Society.....	Astoria.
Oregon.....	Oregon Pioneer Association.....	Butteville.
Pennsylvania.....	Library of the Archives of the Moravian Church.....	Bethlehem.
Pennsylvania.....	Hamilton Library and Historical Association.....	Carlisle.
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society of Franklin County.....	Chambersburg.
Pennsylvania.....	Bucks County Historical Society.....	Doylestown.
Pennsylvania.....	Lutheran Historical Society.....	Gettysburg.
Pennsylvania.....	Dauphin County Historical Society.....	Harrisburg.
Pennsylvania.....	Linnaean Scientific and Historical Society.....	Lancaster.
Pennsylvania.....	Crawford County Historical Society.....	Meadville.
Pennsylvania.....	Moravian Historical Society.....	Nazareth.
Pennsylvania.....	Newport Historical Society.....	Newport.
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society of Montgomery County.....	Norristown.
Pennsylvania.....	American Philosophical Society.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	German Society of Pennsylvania.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Franklin Institute.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society of Pennsylvania.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Numismatic and Antiquarian Society.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Friends' Historical Association.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Catholic Historical Society.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Presbyterian Historical Society.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	American Baptist Historical Society.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	International Scientific Association.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Library Company Historical Society.....	Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania.....	Historical Society of Pittsburg and Western Pennsylv- ania.....	Pittsburg.
Pennsylvania.....	Bradford County Historical Society.....	Towanda.
Pennsylvania.....	Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.....	Wilkes-Barre.
Pennsylvania.....	Lackawanna Institute of History and Science.....	Scranton.
Pennsylvania.....	Lutheran Historical Society.....	Harrisburg.
Rhode Island.....	Newport Historical Society.....	Newport.
Rhode Island.....	Rhode Island Historical Society.....	Providence.
Rhode Island.....	Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors' Historical Society..	Providence.
South Carolina.....	South Carolina Historical Society.....	Charleston.
Tennessee.....	Tennessee Historical Society.....	Nashville.
Texas.....	Historical Society of Galveston.....	Galveston.
Vermont.....	Middlebury Historical Society.....	Middlebury.
Vermont.....	Vermont Historical Society.....	Montpelier.
Vermont.....	Rutland County Historical Society.....	Rutland.
Virginia.....	Virginia Historical Society.....	Richmond.
Virginia.....	Southern Historical Society.....	Richmond.
Virginia.....	Historical Society of Roanoke College.....	Salem.
Virginia.....	Southern Historical Society of Richmond.....	Richmond.
West Virginia.....	West Virginia Historical Society.....	Morgantown.
Wisconsin.....	Milwaukee Pioneer Club.....	Milwaukee.
Wisconsin.....	Old Settlers' Historical Society.....	Racine.
Wisconsin.....	State Historical Society of Wisconsin.....	Madison.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

One of the noteworthy characteristics of Benjamin Franklin was genuine hopefulness: he purposely cultivated the wise habit of not courting ill-fortune by anticipating it. Then again, he was always too civil or too prudent to triumph in the discomfiture of another. He was sent to England on his second mission soon after the great nation had been fairly hounded into the repeal of the Stamp Act, receding before the angry resistance of a parcel of provincials dwelling far away across the sea. The recession was not felt in the mother country to be an act of magnanimity or generosity, or even of justice, but only a bitter humiliation and indignity. The tranquil temperament of Franklin, his knowledge of colonial affairs which rendered him almost incapable of an error in judgment, his social tact, and his wonderful capacity for living well with men who could by no means live well with each other, made him one of the best representatives America could have chosen at that important crisis.

In his excellent work on Franklin, John T. Morse writes: "Franklin perfectly appreciated that Hillsborough retained his position by precarious tenure. He shrewdly suspected that if the war with Spain which then seemed imminent, was to break out, Hillsborough would at once be removed. For in that case it would be the policy of the government to conciliate the colonies, at any cost, for the time being. This crisis passed by fortunately for the secretary, and unfortunately for the provinces. Yet still the inefficient and ill-friended minister remained very infirm in his seat. An excuse only was needed to displace him, and by a singular and unexpected chance Franklin furnished that excuse. It was the humble and discredited colonial agent who unwittingly but not unwillingly gave the jar that toppled the great earl into retirement."

It was upon a comparatively trifling matter that Hillsborough finally lost his place. Franklin was pushing a scheme for the establishment of one or two frontier provinces in the interior of America, and succeeded in inducing two or three privy councilors to become financially interested in the project. The original purpose of the petitioners was very modest, but Hillsborough determined to defeat the application by asking for so much that it would not be granted. When the petition came before the board of trade, Lord Hillsborough, who was president of the board, took upon himself the task of rendering a report, stating that the American region in question was too far away, utterly inaccessible, did not lie within reach of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, belonged to the Indians, who would fight for every inch of ground, etc., etc. This foolish report was adopted, but Franklin, not yet beaten, brought the matter before the privy council, with a long, carefully prepared paper, in which he treated all the facts in the case historically and statistically, and which entirely demolished the crude theories of Hillsborough. The privy council coolly set aside the report of the board of trade, and Hillsborough, in a towering rage, sent in his resignation. This was promptly accepted, for none of the councilors had any vast liking for him, and thus the great enemy of America went out, Franklin having shown him the door, with all England looking on. It was a mortification which Hillsborough could never forgive.

On the 4th of February occurred the centennial celebration of the establishment of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Metropolitan Opera-House was crowded with the most distinguished jurists of modern times. The address of welcome to the Supreme Court justices, who were attired in their robes of office, was by ex-Judge William H. Arnoux. He welcomed them, he said, "because on the first Tuesday of February, 1790, the Supreme Court of the United States held its first session at the Royal Exchange, in the city of New York, and installed into the office the chief-justice, two associate justices, and the attorney-general. This action completed the organization of the three departments of the government. It was the bright consummate flower of a vigorous growth that had been nurtured and watched over with prayers and tears and blood by an immortal band of patriots. Fifteen years before, Washington, first of all, had conceived the idea of such a court, and on the day we celebrate it had become an accomplished fact."

William Allen Butler, of New York, opened his masterly address by stating that the event commemorated was the moment when for the first time the structure of the national government stood complete in all its parts. He detailed the order of things which gradually came into existence as ordered by the Constitution. These were the ratification of the Constitution, completed in July, 1788; the convening of the first congress in New York, in April, 1789; the declaration of Washington as President-elect by the same body; the inauguration of Washington on April 30, 1789; the appointment by congress of a committee, of which Oliver Ellsworth was chairman, for the establishment of the judiciary; the passing of the judiciary act, approved by Washington, September 24, 1789; and, finally, the appointment of the members of the Supreme Court, with the Hon. John Jay as chief-justice, the associate justices being John Rutledge, William Cushing, Robert H. Harrison, James Wilson, and John Blair. Of these, Jay, Cushing, and Harrison had respectively served as chief-justices in their own states of New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland; and Rutledge, Wilson, and Blair had been members of the convention which framed the Constitution. This court first met in February, 1790, and, as a strange contrast with the present time, after a few formal sessions adjourned for want of business—it was literally a court without suitors.

In the elegant judicial centennial banquet the same evening, amid a beautiful mass of flowers and vines, in the Lenox Lyceum, a brilliant assemblage of about eight hundred guests participated. During the after-dinner speeches numerous parties of ladies entered the galleries and listened with delighted attention. Among the speakers were Mr. Evarts, Justice Harlan, Chief-Justice Paxson, of Pennsylvania, Hon. W. B. Hill, of Georgia, Joseph H. Choate, Rev. W. R. Huntington, D.D., President Seth Low, of Columbia College, and Chauncey M. Depew.

BOOK NOTICES

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

Vol. IX. *New Series.* HISTORY OF THE VIRGINIA FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1788. By HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL.D., with a Biographical Sketch of the Author, and Illustrative Notes. Edited by R. A. BROCK. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 372. Published by the Society. 1890. Richmond, Virginia.

This handsome volume opens with an admirable sketch of the career of Mr. Grigsby, the well-known president of the Virginia Historical Society, who succeeded William Cabell Rives, and who wrote the excellent account which follows of the Virginia convention of 1788. He was himself a member of the great constitutional convention of Virginia in 1829-1830, and was associated with the conspicuous men of that interesting period, although then a very young man—hardly twenty-one. He had already commenced his study of the characters and careers of the great Virginians of earlier periods, many of whom were still living. He became connected with the affairs of the college of William and Mary in 1855, when he delivered an address at the commencement, received the degree of doctor of laws, and was elected visitor and governor. He was afterward the chancellor of the college, elected in 1871, and he enthusiastically espoused the cause of education and the interests of this institution in particular with all the force of his extraordinary eloquence, logic, and learning. He died in 1881.

The history of that important gathering of Virginians in 1788, to discuss the articles of the federal Constitution prior to its adoption, is one of the finest of his many literary productions. It is well that the Virginia Historical Society should preserve the treasure in this permanent form. He says truly, in his opening paragraph, "Our theme in its moral and political aspect has a significance which the present generation may well heed, and which posterity will delight to contemplate." He describes the condition of Virginia, and the general sentiment of the people, prior to the gathering at ten o'clock A.M. on Monday, the second day of June, 1788, in the hall of the old capitol. He describes how the friends of the Constitution congratulated each other on the omens which they drew from the year in which their meeting was to take place. It was in 1588, two hundred years before, when the invincible Spanish Armada, destined to subvert the liberties of Protestant England, then ruled by a virgin queen, was assailed by the winds of heaven and scattered over the face of the deep. It was in 1688, one hundred years before, in the month of June, that the cause of

civil liberty and Protestant Christianity won a signal victory in the acquittal of the seven bishops whose destruction had been decreed by James II., and when the celebrated letter inviting the Prince of Orange to make a descent on England, a significant landmark in British history, was sent to the Hague. And from this date and point the distinguished author describes in detail the proceedings, special debates, and the personal appearance and character of the men of the famous convention.

FORT ANCIENT, the great pre-historic earthwork of Warren county, Ohio. Compiled from a careful survey, with an account of its MOUNDS AND GRAVES. By WARREN K. MOOREHEAD. 8vo, pp. 129. Robert Clark & Co., Cincinnati, 1890.

This book is notable for having been written in the field where the researches were being prosecuted. With a force of six men Mr. Moorehead spent the entire summer at the earthwork which is described in this volume. He opened over sixty mounds, fifty graves, and several large cemeteries and village sites. The photographs and drawings have been reproduced in this book and show readers just how skeletons and relics look when lying in the ground. There is a large, full-page engraving on every fifth page throughout the entire book. There is also a large folding view of the Miami valley, below the structure. The Pittsburg, Cincinnati and St. Louis Railroad passes through this valley on the east side, following the curves of the river. The station is named, in honor of the earthwork, "Fort Ancient." The post-office has the same name. The village consists of one small hotel, two warehouses, a country store, and six dwellings. In winter it is the most lonesome spot in the state of Ohio. It is thirty-three miles northwest of Cincinnati. The description of the old fort, in this volume, is very minute. Mr. Moorehead thinks it must have been built for defense, and that many battles were fought there. In the river valley below there are indications that a very large village once existed, about half a mile long and four hundred yards wide. Four or five feet of earth have accumulated since the great village disappeared. By digging here pottery has been exhumed of a beautiful texture and finish, some of it curiously decorated, and the implements are of a better grade than those found near the surface in many other places. Numerous skulls have been discovered, indicating the race of the people or peoples who existed in the long ago, which will afford opportunity for careful study. The stone pavement discovered during the ex-

cavations is one of the most interesting features of Fort Ancient. The stones average a foot in length and six inches in width, and are laid with fine gravel and limestones. This pavement was doubtless designed as a place of amusement or of an assembly; it may have been used for dances, games, and athletic exercises. The surveying, photographing, and excavating of the cemeteries and village sites was performed with the greatest possible care, Mr. Moorehead having the general supervision over all the work accomplished. Mr. Gerard Fowke (formerly of the Bureau of Ethnology of Washington) had charge of the details of the survey, and Mr. Clinton Cowen of Dennison university drew the topographical map, did the leveling, and personally superintended much of the work. The illustrations are from photographs taken in the field by Mr. A. J. Strong of the Camera club of Cincinnati. This volume is one of the most interesting and valuable publications on the Ohio earthworks yet issued from the press. We cordially commend it to the attention of students and scientists everywhere.

ORATIONS AND AFTER-DINNER SPEECHES OF CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Compiled and edited by JOSEPH B. GILDER.
8vo, pp. 537. New York: Cassell Publishing Company.

The reputation of Mr. Depew as an orator and after-dinner speaker renders this volume particularly acceptable to the reading public. Few men of this generation have discoursed upon so wide a range of topics, including politics, history, literature, science, education, law, medicine, and railroading, and no one has excelled Mr. Depew in the versatility of his treatment of questions of every degree of gravity and importance. He holds a unique position among his contemporaries, is the president of a great railroad corporation, also president of the alumni association of one of the oldest colleges, is president of the most influential club in America, and personally one of the most popular of men. His information on every subject of current importance, his wit, his command of language, and his inimitable gifts as a storyteller have given him great fame.

The selections which form this unique work do credit to the skill and taste of Mr. Joseph B. Gilder, the popular editor of the *Critic*. There are forty-eight orations and speeches collected within these covers. The volume opens with Mr. Depew's centennial oration on the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington, standing upon the steps of the Sub-treasury building in Wall street, April 30, 1889. As we turn over the leaves we find as many themes treated as there are chapters, and each sparkles

in its own way, and is seasoned sometimes with pathos and then again with humor. In his address before the Grand Army of the Republic at the memorial service of President Garfield, Mr. Depew says: "Garfield's long and dreadful sickness lifted the roof from his house and family circle, and his relations as son, husband, and father stood revealed in the broadest sunlight of publicity. The picture endeared him wherever it was understood the full significance of that matchless word 'home.' . . . His first thought when borne to the White House was not for himself but for his sick wife at Elberon. He sent her an assuring message, bidding her come, received her with a cheerful and smiling welcome, and when she had left the room he said to the wife of a cabinet minister. 'How does Crete bear it?' 'Like the wife of a true soldier,' was the reply. 'Ah, the dear little woman!' he exclaimed. 'I would rather die than that this should cause a relapse to her.' Scanning with loving eyes her watchful and anxious face weeks afterward, he drew down her head and whispered: 'Go out, dear, and drive before the sun gets too hot; I would go with you if I didn't have so much business to attend to—you will I am sure excuse me.'" In responding to the toast, "The State of New York," in 1879 before the New England society, Mr. Depew spoke in quite a different vein. He said: "When Hendrick Hudson sailed up the great harbor of New York, and saw with prophetic vision its magnificent opportunities, he could only emphasize his thought, with true Dutch significance, in one sentence, 'See here!' When the Yankee came and settled in New York, he emphasized his coming with another sentence, 'Sit here!' And he sat down upon the Dutchman with such force that he squeezed him out of his cabbage-patch, and upon it he built his warehouse and his residence. He found this city laid out in a beautiful labyrinth of cow-patches, with the inhabitants and the houses all standing with their gable-ends to the street, and he turned them all to the avenue, and made New York a parallelogram of palaces. Gentlemen, I beg leave to say, as a native New Yorker of many generations, that by the influence, the hospitality, the liberal spirit, and the cosmopolitan influences of this great state, from the unlovable Puritan of two hundred years ago you have become the most agreeable and companionable of men." We find Mr. Depew addressing the alumni of Yale college, the chamber of commerce, the St. Nicholas society, the Press club, the Bankers' association, the Working-women's Protective Union, the graduating class of Columbia college law school, the Produce Exchange, the Irving club at Tarrytown, the senate of New York, and hosts of other kindred organizations and institutions. The book is entertaining throughout.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, by REUBEN T. DURRETT. [Filson Club Publications, number five.] Square 8vo, pp. 75. Pamphlet. Published under the auspices of the Filson club, Louisville, Kentucky.

This interesting historic chapter was prepared for the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of St. Paul's church in Louisville, which, fresh from the builder's hands in October, 1839, was the largest and handsomest church edifice in that city. The site was formerly occupied by the mysterious people known as the mound-builders, and many relics of their presence here have been exhumed. In 1778 General George Rogers Clark, on his way to the conquest of the Illinois country, landed his volunteers on Corn island in the Ohio river, and the first settlement on Louisville soil, opposite, followed at about the same date. The author of this excellent sketch gives the names of the different owners of the lot on which the church was built, and traces the steps which resulted in the structure itself. Biographical notices of the different pastors and prominent members of the church form a valuable feature of the volume; good portraits are given of Rev. William Jackson, the first rector, of Rev. Edmund T. Perkins, D.D., the present rector, and the proceedings of the celebration are presented with admirable fullness.

FAMILIES IN THE WYOMING VALLEY.

Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical. **SKETCHES OF THE BENCH AND BAR**, of Luzerne country, Pennsylvania. By GEORGE B. KULP. In three volumes. Vol. III., 8vo, pp. 384. Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Price, \$7.50 per volume.

The first and second volumes of Mr. Kulp's interesting work have been consecutively noticed in these pages; the first some five years ago, the second in June, 1889. We now have the third and last volume before us, a worthy companion for its valuable predecessors. The author presents in this completed work the results of an immense amount of painstaking research, including a laborious correspondence that has reached to every quarter of the country, and in many instances to foreign lands. The biographical sketches, as heretofore, are among the most important features of the new volume. One of the largest is that of Harrison Wright, whose ancestor came from England in 1681 with William Penn's colony of Quaker emigrants, and held a commission of justice of the peace, and captain of the militia under the royal seal of Charles II. The genealogy of this family is valuable, as is also that of Judge George Wash-

ington Woodward, whose two grandfathers formed part of a colony from Connecticut which, contemporaneously with the emigration to Wyoming, had occupied, in the year 1774, the valley of the Wallenpanpack, which forms the present boundary between the counties of Wayne and Pike. Judge Bannister Gibson, Judge Thomas Burnside, and Gerick Mallory are among the important characters described. The latter gentleman was descended through his mother from John Harris, founder of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and William Maclay, the first United States senator from that state. The work, which ought to find a place in every well-chosen library, is supplied with an index both of proper names and historical subjects.

HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Vol. xxvi. WASHINGTON, IDAHO, and MONTANA, 1845-1889. 8vo, pp. 336. The History Company. San Francisco, 1890.

We have been favored with the advance sheets of this new volume, and have read its well-filled pages with varied interest. Mr. Bancroft has before written of the early annals of these territories in his *History of the Northwest Coast*, at least so far as 1846, at which time the boundary between the possessions of Great Britain and the United States was determined. He has also given much concerning the settlement of the region in his *History of Oregon*. It is curious to follow the changes in the West. When the southern line of British Columbia was settled, in 1846, all that remained was Oregon. Then Washington was set off from Oregon. Later on Idaho was set off from Washington; and presently Montana grew, chiefly out of Idaho. In the great grand future, when scholars wish to study and investigate the history of the wonderful West, Mr. Bancroft's work will be thoroughly appreciated. The sources of his material will then have perished, or, at least, that much of it which has been the result of dictations, containing the experiences of those brave men first on the ground in the various localities, or who have in any manner achieved distinction in organizing society and government: while manuscripts and old newspapers will necessarily have been scattered, even if their very existence does not become a matter of uncertainty. The pioneers had no knowledge of what was before them in those tangled wilds. Thus their exploits are all the more interesting and worthy of preservation. The author says, "With the setting off of the territory of Idaho from that of Washington came the close of a long period of exciting events, and the beginning of a reign of peace, and constant, gradual growth. Some

slight temporary inconvenience was occasioned by the amputation from the body politic of several counties between two sessions of the legislature, when no provision could be made for the reappointment of representatives, the legislature of 1863 consisting of but seven councilmen and twenty-four assemblymen." Of the early settlement in the vicinity of Puget Sound the author says: "It did not require the imagination of a poet to picture a glowing future, albeit far away in the dim reaches of time. To be in some measure connected with that future, to lay ever so humbly the corner-stone, was worth all the toil and privation, the danger and isolation, incident to its achievement. Not only was there this inland sea, with its treasures inexhaustible of food for the world, and its fifteen hundred miles of shore covered with fine forests to the water's edge, but surrounding it were many small valleys of the richest soils, watered by streams fed by the pure snows of the Cascade and Coast ranges, half prairie and half forest, warm, sheltered from winds, enticing the weary pilgrim from the eastern side of the continent to rest in their calm solitudes." The volume shows how the rapid spread of population over mining territory outstripped the cumbersome machinery of legislation and the administration of law; and examples of the crimes are given which led to the adoption of irregular and illegal measures for their suppression, in the guise of vigilance committees. The various Indian wars are also treated with fullness and discretion.

PORTRAIT GALLERY OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE of the State of New York. Catalogue and biographical sketches. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo, pp. 270. New York. 1890. Press of the Chamber of Commerce.

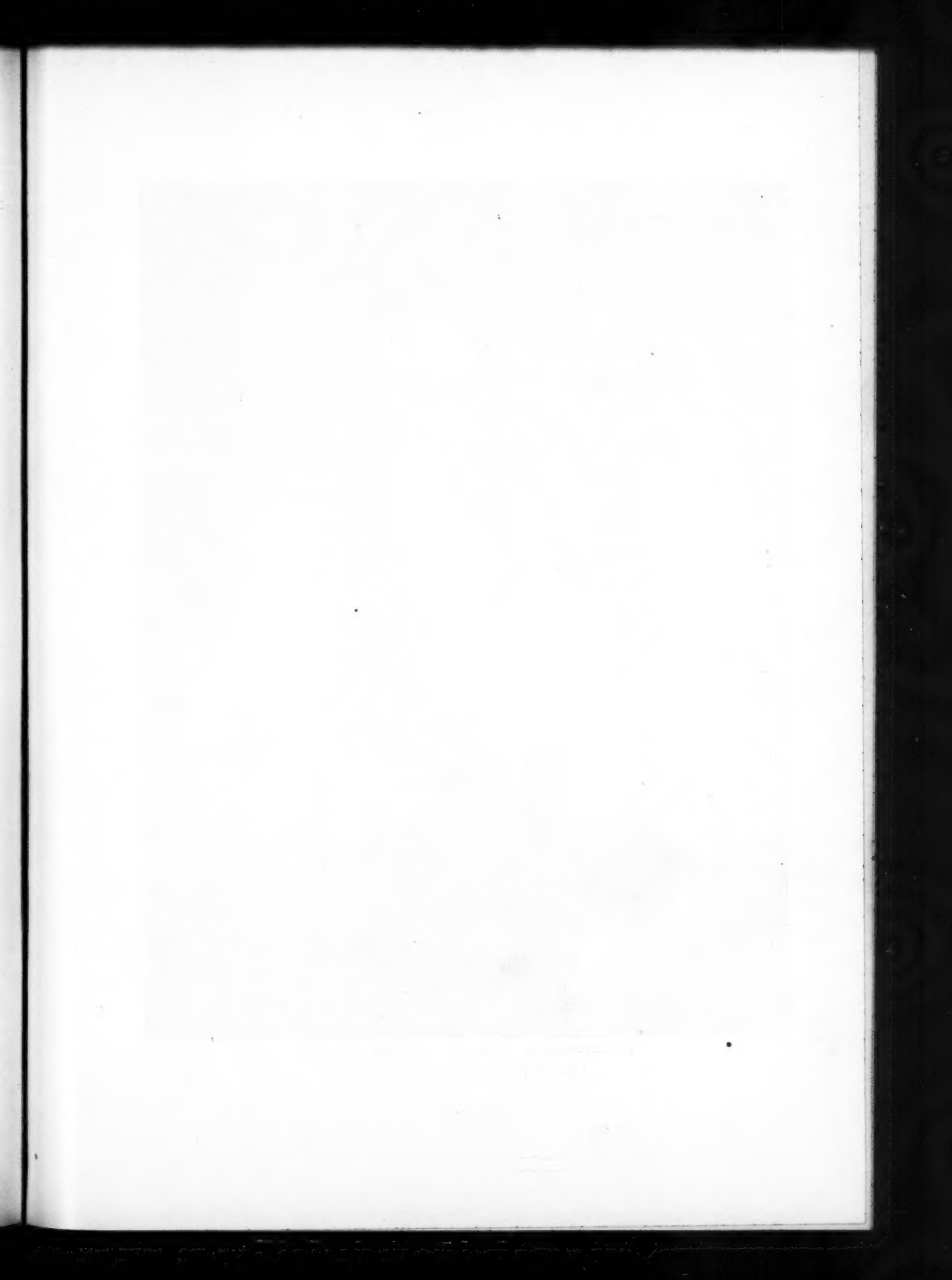
The first portrait in this work, that of Cadwallader Colden, was painted for the chamber of commerce of New York one hundred and eighteen years ago, since when the number of its portraits has increased until this catalogue has resulted. That of Alexander Hamilton was executed by Trumbull in 1792, and for a long time the two life-size companion pieces, those of Colden and Hamilton, formed the collection, which now numbers eighty portraits and four bronze and marble busts. The biographical sketches of the originals of these portraits have been prepared with care by the secretary of the chamber, who has not only had for his assistance the truthful records of the chamber, but he has been aided in finding exact data by the families or near relatives of the subjects; thus great accuracy seems to have been secured. We find represented in this valuable collection some of the most eminent

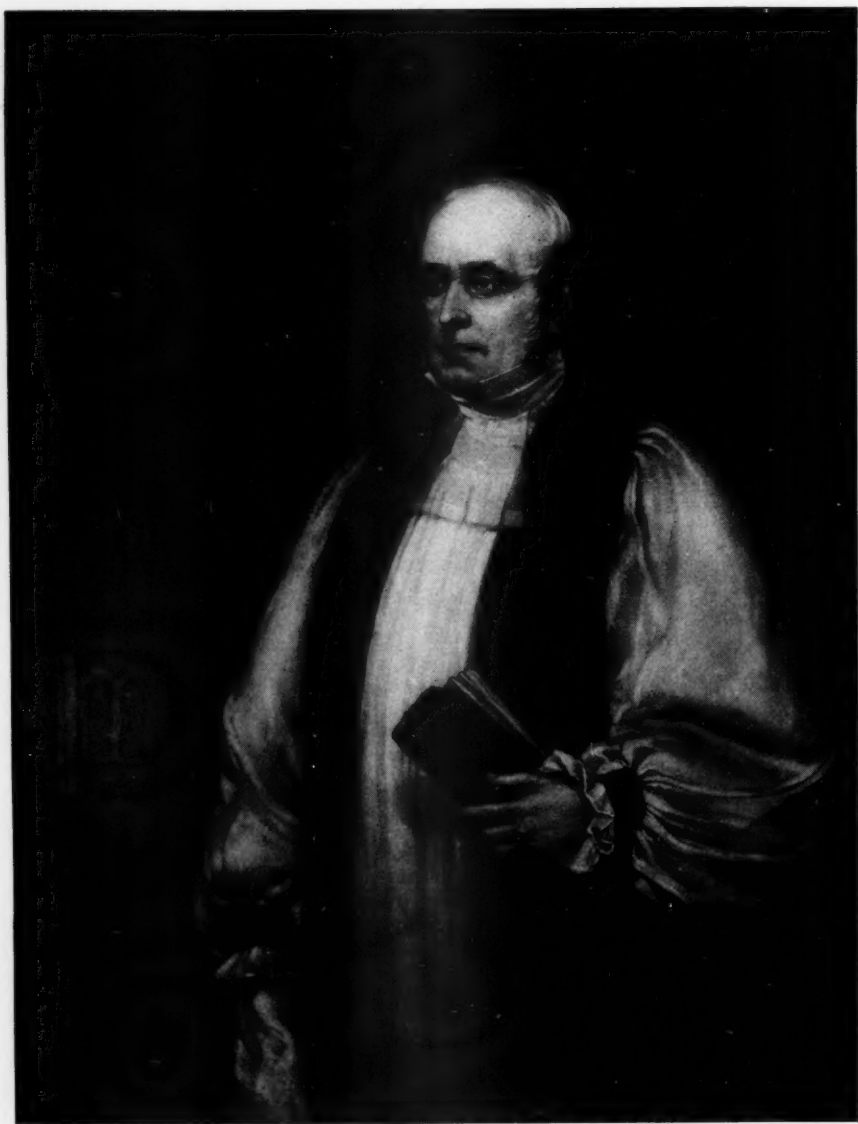
merchants of the century, whose names are identified with the great enterprises of the land, and inseparable from its history—men who were patriots, philosophers, statesmen, and financiers. John Cruger was the first president of the chamber, 1768-70, and among those following, Robert Lenox was the fourteenth president, 1827-40, James Gore King the seventeenth president, 1845-47 and 1848-49, and William E. Dodge, twenty-second president, 1867-75. There are two portraits here of DeWitt Clinton, one by Trumbull and the other by Inman, there is one of John Sherman, secretary of the treasury 1877-81, by Huntington, one of Edwin D. Morgan by Healy, one of Peter Cooper by Loop, one of John Jacob Astor by Gilbert Stuart, one of Cornelius Vanderbilt by Flagg, and one of William H. Vanderbilt by Eastman Johnson.

BRIGHT SKIES AND DARK SHADOWS.

By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. With maps. 12mo, pp. 316. New York. 1890. Charles Scribner's Sons.

A new book from Dr. Field is always welcome, and this clever volume is no exception to the rule. He travels with his eyes employed and his thoughts busy. He goes to Florida for a winter vacation, and does not find rest in idleness and vacancy, but in change of scene and occupation. He spends a portion of every day in study. Under the beautiful skies and out of the palms and the orange groves starts up a spectre, the ghost of something gone, and he recognizes the race problem, "the gravest that ever touched a nation's life—a subject at once fascinating and repelling from its tremendous import, its difficulty, and its danger." He visits St. Augustine and describes the ruins of the old fort, and the modern Ponce de Leon—striking contrasts of architectural skill. He goes to Jupiter Inlet, three hundred miles down the coast. He describes the New England in the south—the old home and the new home; and on his journey northward visits Lookout mountain, the historic battle-field of Murfreesboro, "which tells its story silently in thirty thousand graves" also the field of Franklin eighteen miles from Nashville. Then, by way of contrast and relief, he turns to a quiet old mansion on the banks of the Cumberland, where Andrew Jackson lived and died. Returning to New York across the mountains he pauses to visit the graves of General Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and writes of them in that kindly spirit which seeks at once to contribute to the truth of history and to the cause of peace. He says: "These very sketches serve to show us 'how near and yet so far' is the great drama in which these distinguished actors bore a part."





RIGHT REVEREND JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT, D.D., D.C.L.

[After the painting by Thomas Hicks, N.A.]

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SOME OLD NEW YORKERS

IN the March number of this magazine, for the current year, the editor contributes a graphic article on "Life in New York Fifty Years Ago," in which is asked, as an indication of what may follow: "What are personal memories without anecdote?" My own memories of certain old New Yorkers, including anecdotes, relate to a period subsequent to that embraced in Mrs. Lamb's paper; but some of the characters there mentioned were still playing their parts, entertaining and being entertained, at the time to which I refer, although new ones were rapidly coming upon the scene.

I remember, as a young man, while strolling up Broadway one afternoon—it was my first visit to New York and my eyes were about me—that, as I approached City Hall Park, the pedestrians in front of me slackened their steps, gazed earnestly at the lower front window of an unpretentious brick dwelling-house, and then passed on as if gratified by something they had seen. Naturally I turned my eyes in the same direction, but observed nothing more remarkable than the pale face of an aged gentleman, visible behind the window-pane, as he gazed upon the busy thoroughfare. Inquiring of a passer-by who the gentleman was that attracted so much curiosity, he replied: "John Jacob Astor, sir, the great millionaire."

There he sat, looking at the hurrying throng, and perhaps looking back at his long and prosperous career from small beginnings, unmindful that people lingered, as they passed up and down the great artery of the city, to look upon the richest man the United States had at that time produced. It was worth their while to do so, for his rise to affluence and influence from a poor German lad, a stranger on our shores, to the possessor of unexampled wealth, was the result of his own shrewdness, industry, and unbaffled will. This mere passing glimpse of what might be called the first Aster-oid in the planetary group of a brilliant family was all I ever saw of that notable man, for he died soon after.

With a foreseeing eye to the maintenance of an honored name, he